

DICKINSON COLLEGE

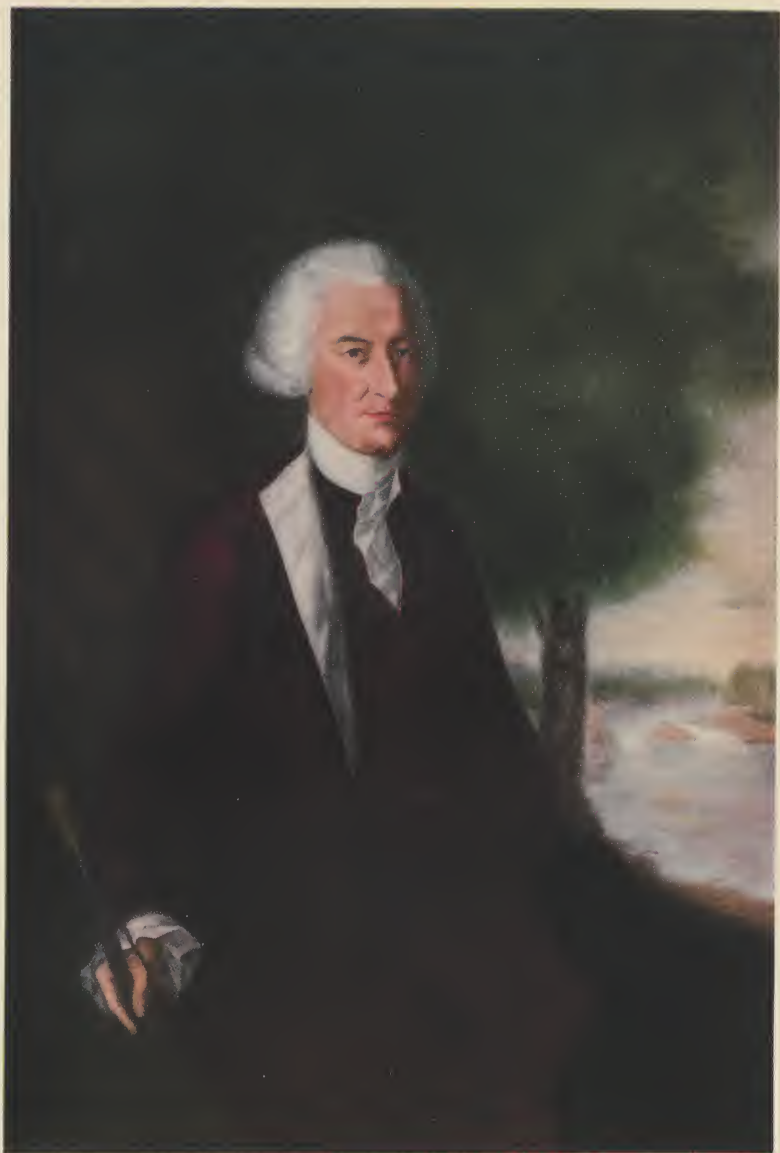
1783-1933

JAMES HENRY MORGAN



DICKINSON COLLEGE

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JOHN DICKINSON

DICKINSON COLLEGE

*The History of
One Hundred and Fifty Years
1783-1933*

BY

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CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA
DICKINSON COLLEGE

1933

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INTRODUCTION

THE CELEBRATION of Dickinson's 150th Anniversary is an eminently fitting time for the publication of an authoritative history, especially as no comprehensive one has been issued heretofore. The story of any institution which dates back to the closing years of the American Revolution is worthy of permanent record, and when that institution has occupied, and continues to occupy, so worthy a place in the life of the country, the need of such a record is imperative.

Dickinson is the twelfth oldest college in the country, based on a charter granting authority to confer the customary degrees. It might, following the example of some other institutions, claim its origin in the year 1773, when John and Thomas Penn deeded a lot in Carlisle for grammar-school purposes, on which a building was erected and a school conducted until 1783, when the lot was transferred to the College and became the site of the College for the first twenty years of its operation; but despite the existence of the grammar school for ten years and its absorption into the College, the real history of Dickinson starts with the charter of September 9, 1783. This was four months before the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, acknowledging the independence of the American colonies. If the United States legally began on July 4, 1776, and the colonies then became states, Dickinson is not colonial, but if that independence began when Great Britain acknowledged the freedom of the colonies, the College is colonial. The point of view is a matter of choice, based on sentiment. In any event, when the College was founded the colonies were working under the Articles of Confederation, the chief draftsman of which, by an interesting coincidence, was John Dickinson. At the time the federal union was established by the adoption of the Constitution, followed by the election of Washington as the first President, the College was in full operation and had

graduated several classes. Colonial or not, the College is certainly pre-Federal.

No one is or can be so well qualified to write the History of Dickinson College as James Henry Morgan. Man and boy he has been intimately connected with the College since 1874, fifty-nine years—less four years immediately after graduation—first, as an undergraduate, then as an Assistant Professor, then as a full Professor, later Dean, and finally President. Add to this long association a lively interest in the previous history of the College, a wide knowledge of the developments in higher education, and a facility to transcribe his material into a narrative form which is at once historically accurate and easily readable, and add also access to and intelligent use of the early records, and the result is an astoundingly interesting history of the old College.

The published material was not voluminous. A comparatively brief history by Charles Francis Himes, LL.D., of the Class of 1855, was issued in 1879, one-fourth of which was devoted to the needs of the Scientific Department, as it was then called, and of which he was the head. "A Pioneer College and its Background—Dickinson," by Charles W. Super, LL.D., of the Class of 1866, is an interesting, discursive sketch of one hundred pages, issued in 1923, written, as its author says, *sine ira et studio*, and with no pretense at being an exhaustive history. The alumni records which have been printed from time to time, especially the very comprehensive one of 1905, were useful only for the checking of dates. But there was a wealth of unpublished material. The records of the Board of Trustees and the correspondence of Nisbet, Dickinson, and Rush, particularly the voluminous letters to and from the last named, preserved in the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library, furnished mines of information.

Dr. Morgan's book has been written with an exacting fidelity to the facts. There has been no attempt to gloss over the series of administrative difficulties of the first fifty

years, or the comparative poverty of the next seventy-five. Indeed it was only during his own administration that the college's endowment began to be a substantial figure. Perhaps Dr. Morgan has refrained from fairly singing the glories of the College because he personally has had so much to do in bringing them about for over one-third of its history!

An introduction should not belie itself by attempting even a summary of contents. Suffice it to say that the main divisions of the book cover the successive administrations of the presidents of the College from 1783 to 1933. This is followed by an appendix dealing with various college activities—the fraternities, athletics, publications, and the literary and other societies. By this method their records can be more readily located than if scattered at intervals through the main text.

The illustrations included are carefully selected from a vast mass of material going back more than one hundred years. The series of portraits of successive principals and presidents of the College now hanging in Old West have been drawn upon to illuminate the pages.

The aphorism attributed to James A. Garfield, that a college was a log of wood with a student at one end and Mark Hopkins of Williams at the other may not be applicable to Dickinson, but the fact that she has had great teachers, not one but many, the text of this history amply shows. The application of the phrase to Dickinson lies in the fact that despite early administrative troubles, despite lack of funds, despite the difficulties of the war between the states and the period immediately succeeding it, Dickinson has a unique and outstanding position among American colleges. From the very outset its graduates began to occupy positions of distinction in church and state, and this has continued to the present time, making due allowance for the enormous difference in the number of colleges and in the number of college-trained men between now and a century or more ago. This distinction has not

been an accident. The reason for it is one of those intangible things which can be sensed rather than isolated and indexed. There is also about the old College today a charm and tradition which are not eclipsed by the greater resources of larger institutions. A salient fact which has contributed to her prestige is the adherence to cultural education and her refusal to be diverted into a race for numbers by laxity in requirements or by the offering of so-called practical courses. The present success of the College is proof of the fact that there is a legitimate field for the first-class, small, liberal-arts college.

The completion of one hundred and fifty years of academic life is no small thing in the history of America, and while the exercises fittingly celebrating that event will naturally pass into the limbo of memory, this book, issued in connection with that celebration, will remain for many years as a comprehensive and authoritative history, for which all Dickinsonians will owe Dr. Morgan a debt of gratitude.

BOYD LEE SPAHR

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
October 10, 1933

A PERSONAL WORD

FIFTY-NINE years ago I came to Dickinson College as a Freshman, and for four years shared its teachings and fellowships. These four years saw the smallest college enrolment since 1836. I was thus in close association with the small student body and the members of the college faculty, only five in number the last half of my course. There were disadvantages in this, but I think the advantages greatly outweighed them; and I came to love the College and its fellowships with a great love. In 1882, four years after my graduation, I gladly accepted an invitation to return to the College, and have now lived under its shadow for fifty-one years, serving the College nearly forty-eight of these years.

Retrospect shows me that I was always eager for stories of the earlier years of the College, and commencement periods were especially interesting because I could corner the old alumnus and get him to tell the story of his own college days. Bishop Bowman, General Rusling, and Asbury J. Clarke thus told me of Durbin and Emory and McClintock, of Peck and Collins, of Johnson, and the exciting Civil War days.

When I first retired from the college presidency in 1928 I took pleasure in collating these memories and other information I had gathered; and when I found that my knowledge of the College failed me, especially of its early years, my whetted interest drove me to the many and diverse sources of our college history, to fill in the gaps. I thus read many of the old letters and other records bearing on the early days of the College. Quotations from them appear in the course of the story, many of them quaint and curious in expression after nearly a century and a half; but I have tried to report them as they appear in the originals—spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and all.

The Committee of the Trustees planning for the Sesqui-

centennial of the College learned of my interest in the college story and asked me to enlarge the scope of my work to include a history of the College. I consented, and this book is the result. Responsibility for its appearance thus rests partly at least upon the Committee.

I had no thought that it could grow to the proportions it has attained; but it really threatened to get altogether out of bounds, and with no little regret I have been compelled to abridge and omit material which gave me pleasure in its collection. This is especially true of the history of the first fifty years, though even as thus abridged this part of the story may seem unduly long. I could not, however, bring myself to shorten the story of this period any further.

Most of the readers of this history are friends and alumni of the College, and know me personally. There will be no surprise, then, when they discover that the work is that of a life-time teacher rather than a writer. I count them as my friends all, and trust that they will be generous in their judgment of my work in an unaccustomed field, a work of love for the College which trained me as a boy and has given me worthwhile work as a man.

If the story deepens the love of the readers for the College as its preparation has deepened that of its writer, I shall be more than satisfied.

J. H. MORGAN

Carlisle, Pennsylvania
October 10, 1933

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DICKINSON COLLEGE

THE BACKGROUND

1751-1782

THE General Assembly of Pennsylvania, on September 9, 1783, enacted a charter for Dickinson College. Six days later the trustees named therein organized in Philadelphia, at the home of John Dickinson, then President of the Supreme Executive Council of the state. Seven months later college work began in Carlisle. The college charter was thus granted seven years after the Declaration of Independence, nine months after the signing of the preliminary articles of peace with Great Britain, three days after the signing of the final treaty, four months before the ratification and proclamation of the treaty by the United States, and eight months before the formal exchange of ratification of that treaty.

Whether Dickinson was the last colonial college to be established, or the first college of the new nation, depends upon the answer to the question "When did colonial life cease and national life begin?" Whatever be the answer to this question, it is certain that high courage was required to take the action that resulted.

There was neither strong central government nor stable currency, and business and industry were prostrate. Good judgment, even ordinary prudence, might have suggested delay in the founding of a college whose support at best could be but meager. On the other hand, as stated in the charter, there was special need to instil "virtuous principle and liberal knowledge . . . into the minds of the rising generation," and there was felt the challenging obligation to do so out of gratitude for the peace it had "pleased Almighty God to restore to the United States of America." Most important, however, was the fact that there were men for this emer-

gency, men brave enough to meet the obligation they felt to promote Christian education. These men, despite conditions which might have discouraged those of less courage, proceeded to erect a college on the scanty educational foundations already existing in Carlisle.

In the old Cumberland County court-house is recorded a patent or deed from the Penns, the Pennsylvania Proprietaries, to nine Carlisle patentees for land to be used for the erection of a grammar school. This document foreshadowed Dickinson College. The property thus ceded became the site, and the building erected thereon was the college home for more than twenty years. The nine men who received this grant, and others of like purpose, made possible the grammar school and the subsequent college. Seven of these patentees became trustees of Dickinson.

These nine patentees were picked men of the remarkable community of Carlisle, then numbering between 500 and 1,000 inhabitants. Carlisle had become the county-seat of Cumberland County in 1751, one year after the erection of the county to include all of Pennsylvania west of the Susquehanna, except York County, which then embraced the territory of the later Adams County. The agents of the Penns were deliberately trying to make homogeneous communities, and to this end were turning German settlers toward York County and the Scotch-Irish into the Cumberland Valley. Thus Carlisle became the focus of the Scotch-Irish population of central Pennsylvania, as it was by law their civil center.

The county-seat for these Scotch-Irish had previously been in distant Lancaster, and easier access to courts was a great convenience to them. However, the home-feeling growing out of their more intimate association with those of their own race probably meant even more to them than easier access to the courts. To this Scotch-Irish center came some of the influential men of the state, who later became eminent in the nation also. There were many unusual men in Carlisle. Two of the nine grammar school patentees be-

came generals and two were colonels in the War of Independence, soon to follow. One also was a member of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, 1775-1776; another signed the Declaration of Independence, was an outstanding member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and was a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States by appointment of George Washington. Cumberland County had a Committee of Correspondence to secure unity of action in the colonies against British aggression, and five of its nine members were of the grammar school group, as were all three of the county deputies to the Provincial Convention of July, 1774, to prepare for the Congress of September following.

James Wilson was the best educated of these men, and also the most distinguished in his career. Of Scotch birth, and educated in Glasgow, he came to this country in 1766. After studying law in Philadelphia with John Dickinson, he came to Carlisle about 1768, and five years later became one of the grammar school patentees. In 1774 he was a member of the Provincial Convention; two years later, as a member of Congress, he signed the Declaration of Independence; in 1782 he was again in Congress; and in 1787 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. McMaster's History says of his service in that body, "Of the fifty-five delegates he was, undoubtedly, the best prepared by deep and systematic study of the history and science of government for the work that lay before him." He was a member of the convention's Committee of Detail, to which its actions were referred for formulation, and lately discovered manuscripts show that the first two drafts of the Constitution were in Wilson's handwriting. His was probably the directing mind of the Committee. As has been noted, he was one of Washington's first appointees to the Supreme Court. He died while holding district court in North Carolina in 1798. In 1906, at national expense and with distinguished honors, his remains were brought from North Carolina and interred at Christ Church in Philadelphia, where he had lived after leaving Carlisle in 1778.

General William Irvine, another patentee, was born in Ireland in 1741, educated in Dublin University, and studied medicine. For a short time he was a surgeon in the British navy, but came to America in 1763 and settled in Carlisle the following year. He practiced his profession for ten years, and thereafter almost continuously served the state and nation. A member of the Provincial Convention in 1774, he was also twice a member of Congress. In 1776 he was appointed colonel in the Revolutionary Army, and three years later became a brigadier general. He was commander of Pennsylvania's troops to quell the Whisky Rebellion in 1794. In 1801 he became superintendent of military stores in Philadelphia, where he died in 1804.

General John Armstrong, also a patentee, was born in Ireland about 1720, and about 1748 came to Carlisle, which he is supposed to have laid out in 1751. Here he lived till his death in 1793. He was appointed captain in January and colonel in May, 1756, of the provincial troops west of the Susquehanna, and when Indian depredations on the western frontier became intolerable after Braddock's defeat, he led a punitive expedition of 280 men from Carlisle to punish the Indians. Marching his command hundreds of miles through the forests, he surprised the Indians, destroying their settlement at Kittanning. Their spirit thus broken, their forays ceased. Because of this service, he was the recipient of "thanks, medal and plate from Philadelphia," and Armstrong County was later named for him, with its county-seat at Kittanning, the site of his exploit. Two years later, in 1758, as senior officer of the Pennsylvania troops, he raised the British flag over Fort Duquesne when, by its capture, the French lost their last post in Pennsylvania. For thirteen years he presided over the county courts till the outbreak of the Revolution. Then entering the army, he served a short time in South Carolina. Returning, he acted as major general at the battles of the Brandywine and Germantown. Sensitive to slights, real or imagined, he resigned from the Regular Army, but later commanded militia in the service.

He was highly honored in Carlisle, and in later life was affectionately called "the Old General."

Robert Magaw, of Irish birth, was a prominent lawyer of Carlisle prior to the Revolution. He was a member of the Provincial Convention in 1774 and of the Legislature in 1781. In 1775 he left Carlisle as major in its first regiment, and in January, 1776, became colonel. On Washington's withdrawal from New York in 1776, Magaw was left with nearly 3,000 men to defend Fort Washington, near Harlem. The Fort was captured by overwhelming British forces, and Magaw was held as prisoner of war for four years, after which he lived in Carlisle till his death in 1790.

Colonel John Montgomery, though uneducated in the schools, was one of Carlisle's most interesting and forceful characters. There is no record of such outstanding and commanding service as that of his associates, notably Wilson and Armstrong, but nearly the whole of his more than fifty years of life in Carlisle was full of public services of various kinds. He was justice of the peace, burgess, and associate judge of the local courts. The port of Boston was closed by the British on June 1, 1774, and Massachusetts appealed to the other colonies for a Congress to consider the matter. On July 12 a mass meeting was held in Carlisle to protest against British aggression. Montgomery presided over this meeting, which appointed delegates to a Provincial Convention to concert measures preparatory to a general Congress. He served in broader fields, however. He was a member of Pennsylvania's Committee of Safety, 1775-1776, including twenty-five men from different parts of the Province, in charge of all the military affairs of the Province. Congress named him one of the commissioners to treat with the Indians at Fort Pitt in July, 1776. During this year he was colonel of a regiment from Cumberland County and of a battalion of Associators in the Jersey campaign of 1777. He was also a member of the Continental Congress in 1782-1783.

There were other outstanding men in Carlisle at the time, one of whom must be named, especially as he became an early

trustee of the College. Ephraim Blaine, an ancestor of the eminent James G. Blaine, of Maine, was born in Carlisle in 1741, an outstanding man in many ways. He was colonel in the Revolutionary Army, but was early assigned to the department of army supplies, and in 1778 became commissary general of the northern department. His energy, wealth, and extensive credit did much to keep the army from the absolute want which would have caused the collapse of the patriot cause. The scope of his services was indicated by the fact that in 1780 the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania drew a single warrant in his favor for one million dollars, to cover advances made by him and others. Blaine was the host of President Washington for his stay in Carlisle in 1794, during the Whisky Rebellion.

Such were the men who fostered the educational ferment in Carlisle. They seem to have opened the Grammar School at once in 1773 on the grant of the site. The school was so prosperous that in October, 1781, approach was made to the Donegal Presbytery, meeting in Carlisle, for its support in the enlargement of the school to the rank of an academy. The record says: "A number of Gentlemen, viz., Col. John Montgomery, Robert Miller, Samuel Postlewaite, Doctor Samuel McCoskry, William Blair and others, who have the oversight of a Grammar School in this town . . . represent their desire that the Presbytery would take the said school under their care. . . . They further represent that it is their design to enlarge the plan thereof and to apply for a legal charter for it as an Academy under proper regulations. . . . The Presbytery heartily approve of the proceedings and laud the intentions of the gentlemen and agree to countenance the school as far as they can, to appoint a committee twice in the year to examine, to concur with them in every proper measure to advance the same to the most useful and respectful condition."

The academy never came into being. The movement under the influence of a single individual was turned toward a college, whether wisely or not was questionable for many years.

BENJAMIN RUSH AND THE CHARTER

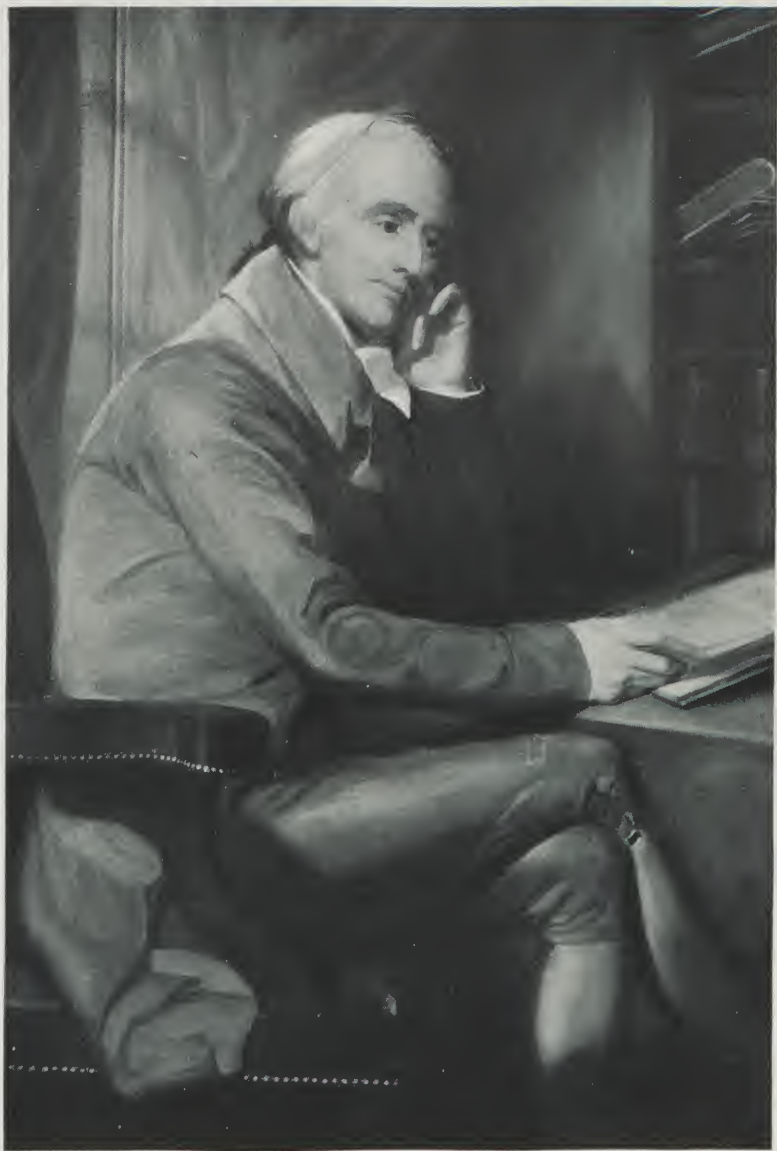
THE movement to substitute an academy for the Grammar School showed the growing purpose of the local community, but the really sympathetic Presbytery could do little to forward the academy proposal beyond providing moral support. Then Benjamin Rush, one of the dynamic men of his time, came to know the situation. It challenged his imagination as an opportunity to develop a better system of education for Pennsylvania. He threw himself into the movement, and gave the resulting college over thirty years of devoted service, working often with and through John Montgomery of Carlisle.

Rush was primarily a physician, probably the most distinguished in America, but was always active in affairs of general interest, and wholly committed to American independence. He became a member of Congress shortly after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence and was a signer of that document. Montgomery, while a member of the Committee of Safety in Philadelphia, 1775-1776, doubtless met Rush six years before there was any thought of a college. Their later association shows that the two men seemed made for each other. Their acquaintance ripened into a friendship which endured until the death of Montgomery in 1808.

The first recorded meeting of these two men was on "Bingham's Porch" in 1782, and there is frequent mention of this meeting in their correspondence. There, in 1782, they laid plans for a college in Carlisle. "Bingham's Porch," their trysting-place, was to them thereafter as the place where lovers might have plighted faith, the place where great things had been planned. Many years later Rush wrote Montgomery that the friends of a new constitution for the state had met at his house for counsel, "so that my parlor may be the 'Bingham's Porch' for our constitution."

These two men, probably alone in their purpose, had thus agreed to work for a college at Carlisle instead of an academy, and their first task was to make converts to their plan. The idea was new, and their plan would meet opposition. There were two other colleges nearby, one in Philadelphia and one at Princeton, the latter under the same Presbyterian influences which must foster the proposed college. The friends of Princeton would, of course, be hostile, and those interested in the Philadelphia institution would not be indifferent. Rush, however, seems to have been rather stimulated by opposition, and he entered upon his new venture with characteristic zeal. It was, indeed, his urgency that convinced his friend, and as Mohammed for a time had only one convert, so Montgomery alone had accepted the plan of Rush. Even he was none too sure of the venture, and Rush had occasionally to strengthen his faith. On April 15, 1783, he wrote Montgomery, "Don't be discouraged. All will be well. Don't think of an academy instead of a college. The subscriptions are especially for a college." The practical Rush, knowing that his college plans would meet opposition, and knowing, too, the power of money to disarm opposition, promptly began to seek from his wealthy Philadelphia friends endowment for the college he had resolved upon. So, thus early, even before the approval of the college idea by any organization, he could report "subscriptions . . . for a college."

Rush, with John Montgomery as his faithful lieutenant, became the most influential man in the affairs of the College, and so remained to the day of his death, as his correspondence in the Ridgway Library of Philadelphia makes evident. There are many volumes of these letters, two of which, numbering about 350 pages, are on Dickinson College. It is apparent that the trustees and many others looked to him for counsel and help. While Rush's own letters are largely lost, his letters to John Montgomery, his companion of "Bingham's Porch," were curiously preserved. In writing to Montgomery on June 6, 1801, after some particularly sharp criticism of Dr. Nisbet,



BENJAMIN RUSH

Rush asks that his letters to Montgomery "with remarks on the conduct of Dr. Nisbet or any other person" be burned or returned to him; and Montgomery returned at least part of them.

The correspondence of these men reveals a long and beautiful friendship, fairly comparable with the famous friendships of history. And yet they were very different, as judged by all ordinary rules. Rush was cultured and traveled, a man of wide interests and large affairs; while Montgomery was a frontiersman, a farmer, little educated in the schools, yet a man of force and character. He was also a man of property. The inventory of his estate on his death shows that he had much good furniture in his home and owned at least one colored slave. A staunch Presbyterian, he was yet tolerant for his time.

The deep affection existing between Rush and Montgomery is shown in their correspondence on the serious illness of Montgomery in the autumn of 1800. Montgomery writes that a full court docket had required long hours in court, which had brought on a sickness from which he expected to die. "This will, in all human probability, be the last address you will ever receive from me. . . . In every situation and under every circumstance I am truly your sincere and affectionate, John Montgomery."

Rush in his reply shows his appreciation. He writes: "A sick bed is a kind of observatory. . . . Your life has been active and useful. You have raised a large and flourishing family. You have served your country ably and faithfully in every public station. You have been an active and useful instrument of establishing a seminary of learning in your town. . . . But above all you have chosen that good part which shall never be taken from you, and have been a constant and useful member of the Church of Christ. . . . Adieu, my dear, dear friend." Other letters of his from time to time closed with equally fervent expressions: "Unalterably your friend"; "There is no man in Pennsylvania who esteems and loves you more than your ever affectionate friend."

They never had a serious difference. His friendship for Montgomery was probably one of the few Rush maintained, as his impulsive habit and inability to brook opposition to any of his plans severed friendly relations with many others.

These two men, then, had agreed that there should be a college at Carlisle, instead of the academy for which Carlisle people were prepared. Even Montgomery was not very enthusiastic, and others were doubtful of the wisdom of the proposal. The "Old General" Armstrong was one of them, and Armstrong was too important a man in the community to be ignored. He had not come under the personal influence of Rush.

Rush wrote personal letters to influential Presbyterians arguing for the feasibility of the college plan. He also distributed somewhat widely in 1782 his "Hints for Establishing a College at Carlisle in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania." It was to be Presbyterian to the core, and comparison of it with what he readily accepted later suggests that his purpose was to win over the Presbyterians to the general plan, knowing that radical changes of form might later be necessary. These "Hints" say, "Every religious society should endeavor to preserve a representation of itself in government. . . . At present they [the Presbyterians] hold an undue share in the power of the State, and it becomes them to retire a little from offices and to invite other societies to partake of them with them. . . . It becomes them above all things to entrench themselves in schools of learning. These are the true nurseries of power and influence. . . . In the present plenitude of power of the Presbyterians let them obtain a charter for a college at Carlisle in Cumberland County.

"The advantages of a college at this place are: (1) It will draw the Presbyterians to one common center of union. (2) It will be nearly central to the State. . . . (3) Education will be cheaper in Carlisle. . . . (4) The village of Carlisle is one of the most healthy spots in the State." All instructors were to be Presbyterians, and an endowment was to be secured from the state. He did not plan that they should

“retire a little from offices” empty handed. A generous building plan was outlined, but all students were to live in families. It was “monkish ignorance” to crowd boys together in dormitories.

Some of those who received the “Hints” got together for counsel, and replied that the plan would be satisfactory to them but they saw objections, especially the objection of other denominations to the endowment of such a college with public funds. Rush thereupon withdrew the state-endowment features, suggesting that endowment could be secured after the granting of the charter—a hope, though cherished for many years, that was never realized.

General Armstrong and the Rev. Dr. Cooper were spokesmen for the opposition to the plans for a new college—Armstrong an aggressive one. He was a friend of Princeton; his son was a Princeton graduate. He thought the time not opportune for such a movement, and would select some location to the west, probably Pittsburgh, for a new college at the proper time. Armstrong was a man of such outstanding position and influence that his opposition was dangerous, and Rush set himself to win him over. To this end, in March, 1783, about a month before the meeting of the Donegal Presbytery, at which the question of a charter was to be discussed, Rush wrote Armstrong a very adroit letter. He admits that some of Armstrong’s friends in Philadelphia were opposed to the college idea, but has no word to say against them in this letter, though in other letters to his own friends he characterized them in terms not used in polite society. He sedulously avoided matters of controversy, but held up to Armstrong the advantages to both church and state from such an institution on his side of the Susquehanna. The university in Philadelphia he represented as so catholic that no religion prevailed, and “without religion, I believe, learning does real mischief to the morals and principles of mankind.” Colleges are the best schools for divinity, and there was need of this new college to teach the church creed. Education in Philadelphia was expensive, and a big city was

not good for the morals of students. The New Jersey college was too far from the western counties of the state. Then, too, a college so located would help to stem the tide of immigration of our Presbyterian people to other states. A college at Carlisle would increase the value of real estate, as Princeton had done for that section. [Armstrong was a large landowner.] Finally he insisted that the leading men of Philadelphia of all classes, including Dickinson, the Quaker, and Bingham, the Episcopalian, were supporting the movement with their means, and it was sure to succeed.

Armstrong at the following April Presbytery said that he was of the same opinion as before, but nevertheless withdrew his opposition; and Montgomery writes Rush of their good outlook. The Presbytery had endorsed the plan, they had formulated the petition to the General Assembly of the state for a charter, and it was "now signing in Cumberland and York counties. . . . We put in the gentleman as a trustee, so that he is no longer the same party. Your letter has done wonders, and your pen was under the influence and guidance of Providence."

"The gentleman" was General Armstrong. He was thus named as one of the original trustees, though it would have been strange to omit such a man from the Board. Doctor Cooper, the other outspoken opponent, was also named, and both became useful trustees, Armstrong acting as President of the Board for nine years.

Rush now began to plan for favorable action from the General Assembly, to meet in Philadelphia in the fall, striving at the same time to secure additional funds for a college. For both these ends he deemed it wise to widen the circle of friends, writing Montgomery in May that "Mr. Long, together with two Germans, must be taken into the Board." Thus John Long was added to the Board, and presumably Hendel and Muhlenberg were the "two Germans." These two soon after shared in the founding of Franklin College at Lancaster. This enlarged the influence which could be brought to bear on the Assembly, giving excuse for approach-

ing other elements of the state for funds, and one of the larger subscriptions came from a Lancaster trustee. In June, Rush writes again to Montgomery, "You must attend here at the sitting of the Assembly. I can do nothing without you." Montgomery, however, did not attend, as Rush's letter to him of September 1 shows. "Leave has been obtained to bring in a bill to found a college at Carlisle. Do come to town immediately. We suffer daily from the want of your advice and passionate honesty, as Sharp calls it. Everything hangs on the next two weeks. . . . The charter is ready [to present] and has been carefully reviewed by Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Wilson."

Rush was right in his judgment. There was an almost equal division of the Assembly on the question of the charter. They had only four votes to spare, on one motion. He writes, "Joseph Montgomery opposed the plan violently, and plead hard for the sickly banks of Susquehannah where the youth would enjoy fogs, and the society of boatmen, waggoners and such like companions for a half century to come. He lost his motion by four votes. . . . Sharp detests Joseph's act . . . so much that he declares until his name is struck out from among the trustees he will not support the scheme any longer. It shall be done." It was done, for the name of Joseph Montgomery does not appear on the first Board, though he became a trustee in 1787 and served for seven years. This vote, with a margin of only four, seems to have been the high-water mark of the opposition in the Assembly, and the charter was voted on September 9, 1783. The second dangerous hurdle had been passed. Its success was clearly due to the generalship of Rush, though he was doubtless greatly aided by the quiet influence of John Dickinson, President of the Supreme Executive Council of the state.

John Dickinson comes into the picture at this point, so far as records show, though before this he and James Wilson are known to have read and approved the charter of the College before it was voted by the General Assembly. Dickinson, the "Penman of the Revolution," is so well

known by all who know our early American history as to make superfluous any attempt here to outline his long life and abundant labors.

While this is true, there is an interesting suggestion on the Dickinson relation only recently advanced, bearing on the origin of the Dickinson name, and consequently on the name of the College. It is suggested that the name originated with one Walter de Caen, who followed William the Conqueror to England and settled in Yorkshire. Following the usual custom, his children were known by the surname "son of," etc. Thus a son of "de Caen" in time became Dickinson. This is a bit of genealogy—curious, interesting, perhaps true.

The charter thus granted contained seven sections, four of them in the nature of a preamble. This old charter, with but minor changes, is yet in force. Its important provisions follow:

(1) Importance of education; (2) peace brings both ability and duty to disseminate useful knowledge; (3) petitioners of established reputation show need for this College; (4) large subscriptions already made, and others to come.

The vital sections are:

Section 5. Be it, therefore, enacted and it is hereby enacted. . . . That there be erected, and hereby is erected and established in the Borough of Carlisle, in the county of Cumberland, in this State, a college for the education of youth in the learned and foreign languages, the useful arts, sciences and literature, the style, name and title of which said college, and the constitution thereof, shall be and are hereby declared to be as is mentioned and defined; that is to say,

I. In memory of the great and important services rendered to his country by his Excellency, John Dickinson, Esquire, President of the Supreme Executive Council, and in commemoration of his very liberal donation to the institution, the said college shall be forever hereafter called and known by the name of Dickinson College.

II. Board of Trustees of not over forty.

III. First Trustees named, five from Philadelphia, one from Bucks County; one from Chester; three from Lancaster; eight from York; twelve from Cumberland; two from Berks; one from Northampton; two from Northumberland; two from Bedford; two from Westmoreland; and one from Washington.

VII. The headmaster was to be "The Principal of the College," and the masters were to be "Professors," but no Principal or Professor could be a Trustee.

. . . .

IX. No limitation on account of religious belief.

X. The thirteen clergymen on the original Board were to be succeeded by clergymen.

Section 6. No change of the charter but by the Legislature.

Section 7. Form of oath to be taken by Trustees, Principal and Professors.

Amendments have been made at various times. In February, 1826, the requirement that a clergyman should succeed a clergyman became: "That not more than one-third of the Trustees shall, at any time, be clergymen."

In April, 1834, several changes were made. Power was given the Board of Trustees to declare the seats of members vacant for certain reasons; the discipline of the College was vested essentially in the Faculty; the oath of trustees, principals, and professors was simplified [later the oath was replaced by the promise to perform the duties faithfully]; and the Principal was made *ex-officio* President of the Board. This last, however, was again changed in March, 1912, when he was made a member of the Board, but ineligible to the office of President of the Board. In May, 1879, the trustee term was set at four years with eligibility for reëlection; the style of the head of the College was changed from Principal to President; and the Board was given power to decide on its quorum.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COLLEGE

THE college charter of September 9, 1783, directed the trustees to "meet at the city of Philadelphia on the third Monday in September instant," and accordingly ten of them came together at the Dickinson home in Philadelphia on Monday, September 15. The chartering Act of Assembly was first read. The two justices of the peace, required by the charter, appeared, and before them the ten trustees present subscribed to the required oath or affirmation, in which are many interesting evidences of the troubled times which seemed to make them necessary. The oath follows:

We, the Trustees of Dickinson College, in the State of Pennsylvania, having severally sworn or affirmed that we will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and that we will not directly or indirectly do any act or thing prejudicial or injurious to the constitution or government thereof as established by the Convention, and that the State of Pennsylvania is and of right ought to be a free, sovereign and independent State and that we do forever renounce and refuse all allegiance, subjection and obedience to the King or Crown of Great Britain and that we never have since the Declaration of Independence directly or indirectly aided, assisted, abetted, or in any way countenanced the King of Great Britain, his generals, fleets, armies or their adherents in their claim upon these United States and that we have ever since the Declaration of Independence thereof demeaned ourselves as faithful citizens and subjects of this or some one of the United States and that we will at all times maintain and support the freedom and sovereignty and independence thereof, do agreeably to the direction of the act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, entitled "an Act for the Establishment of a College in the Borough of Carlisle in the County of Cumberland in the State of Pennsylvania," hereunto respectively subscribe our names.

The chief business of this first meeting, after taking the oath, was the choice of a president of the Board by ballot. John Dickinson received nine of the ten votes, and James Ewing one. Ewing was Vice-President of the Supreme Executive Council, of which Dickinson was President, and

received the latter's vote. The Board then "Adjourned to meet on Thursday next at six o'clock in the evening at Dr. Rush's house on Second Street." A third meeting was held September 19, "at the State House . . . at 5 o'clock." These two later meetings perfected forms for subscriptions, and "Dr. Rush was requested to prepare the books . . . and to transmit them with a letter from the President of the Board to the Trustees in each county . . . requesting a report . . . at Carlisle in April next." General Armstrong and John Montgomery were requested "to engage one of the ministers of the Gospel who is a member of the Board of Trustees to prepare a sermon and prayer to be delivered on the 6th of April, 1784, at the first meeting of the trustees in the borough of Carlisle, in order that the day may be observed with a religious solemnity suitable to the occasion." They then adjourned "to meet in the Court House in Carlisle on Tuesday the 6th of April, 1784."

The trustees named in the charter had thus organized and held three meetings within the week, attended by those trustees who chanced to be in Philadelphia at the time—enough for the bare quorum of nine required by the charter at the second, and with ten at the first and third meetings, including eleven individual trustees in all. Henry Hill, one of the five Philadelphia trustees, was present at these meetings, but never met with them afterward, though his interest continued. William Bingham was in Europe when the meetings were held in Philadelphia, and never met with the Board. James Wilson, of Philadelphia, was not present at these first meetings, and though he showed his interest at various times, he never attended a Board meeting. John Dickinson was present at these three meetings in the city and at the first meeting in Carlisle, April, 1784, but never again met with them. Benjamin Rush was present at these three meetings, and at the first and third meetings in Carlisle—in April, 1784, and August, 1785. This ended his attendance, but certainly not his interest and service.

When travel conditions of the time are considered, this

failure of even deeply interested trustees to attend meetings of the Board is not surprising. Even "turnpikes" were unknown; the first in the state, from Lancaster to Philadelphia, was opened in 1790, "the wonder of the world," as one enthusiast said. Carlisle is 120 miles from Philadelphia, and it took at least two days of hard travel to barely cover the distance, exhausting even for those of rugged physique, wherefore three or four days were usually taken for the trip. Men of indifferent health, as were both Dickinson and Rush, found serious difficulty in attending. Rush wrote on one occasion that the roads were unfit for a carriage, and he was unfit to stand the trip on horseback. He adds that his diet must be milk and vegetables, which he would be unable to get at the inns on the way. On account of the easy-going business methods of the time, the actual meetings were likely to occupy several days, so that eight or even ten days might be required for men coming from Philadelphia. The result was bad for the College, and Principal Nisbet early complained that the trustees of vision could not attend meetings. Consequently, though there were forty trustees, the College was really managed by the few in and near Carlisle.

The College thus legally organized, the dream of "Bingham's Porch" was one step nearer realization. George R. Crooks, in his centennial oration of 1883, said "To Doctor Rush of all founders belongs the honored name of father of Dickinson College." Dr. Crooks had rediscovered after a century what was quite clear to those who organized the College. Ten days after the charter was granted, September 19, John King, one of the trustees, wrote Rush on the "Happy success of your endeavors—yours, I may indeed say." And so it was.

Rush, however, had only begun his service to the College. Most of the other trustees turned to their own affairs after these first three meetings, forgetful that everything was yet to be done; and the few who gave the matter any thought depended largely upon Rush for counsel and even direction.

This was fortunate, for he alone had the needed vision, driving force, and persistence. His attention by correspondence seems to have been constant. Eleven of his letters of this period to Montgomery are on file; and he wrote at least six letters to other trustees, as is shown in the nine responses preserved.

Rush wrote Montgomery eight days after the third meeting: "I cannot wait on the Messrs. Penn without you. They only wait to be asked for a lot of 15 or 20 acres for our college. . . . I am afraid you are growing careless of the child you have helped to bring into the world." Montgomery replies at once, "I was anxious for our child while in embryo, but since it has come forth and has got such a numerous tribe of godfathers, many of whom . . . are fond of it, and although I still love the brat . . . at present I cannot give it much attention. . . . We should not apply to the Messrs. Penn before the election, and when we do, it ought to be as private as possible." As Montgomery was seeking reelection to Congress, and the pre-Revolutionary claim of the Penns to unsettled land in Pennsylvania was a live issue, it seemed to him to be good political strategy to see the Penns after the election. It did not secure his election, however, for he was accused of being too considerate of the Penn claims.

Again Rush writes Montgomery about getting subscriptions, urging him to help him with them in Philadelphia. He says "Certificates are falling. Now is our time to push subscriptions in Philadelphia. Come to town about Christmas when good eating and drinking open the heart." [This from the ardent temperance man!] In February he announces that the Minister of France had given \$200, and that he expected their funds to be £10,000 in a few months. Blessed optimist! He never lived to see the College in possession of so much, but he labored to bring it to pass; and his high hopes were keeping other trustees in good spirits.

Rush's prospect for £10,000, so steadily held out, had its effect on most of the country trustees, with whom money was scarce, though, as shown by their cautious statements,

little could be expected from the country people. William Linn, pastor of the Big Spring [Newville] Church, afterwards pastor in New York City, and first chaplain to Congress in 1789, wrote Rush:

This morning (March 6, 1784) I received in your letter dated January 15th—the extraordinary and flattering intelligence of the success of the subscriptions for the College. Much less than the prospect of £10,000 in Pennsylvania alone should have made us persevere, but who after this may not hope that a very few years shall see Dickinson College in a state of eminence and reputation, especially if we are so happy as to secure Dr. Nesbit for a principal? [He used Rush's mistaken spelling for the name, and probably knew of Nisbet only from Rush.] . . . No money is to be expected from this part of the world except from a few individuals. . . By reason of taxes and other debts many of them can little more than subsist. Some years hence, however, they can and will contribute something. [People had little money; one man contributed a ton of iron, later sold for \$36.] . . . I fear you will find bad roads in the beginning of April. Mr. Black has been appointed by Mr. Montgomery to prepare a sermon suitable to the occasion.

Rush knew that the College needed money and helpful friends, but he knew also that plans must be made for its organization in a country with no standards for colleges. He knew, too, that its great need was the right man at its head, one who would command the respect of the public and secure, by his name and fame, a supporting constituency. He seems to have turned at once to Charles Nisbet, of Scotland, as the man; there is no evidence that he ever thought of anybody else as first Principal of the College.

There is, however, an interesting statement in a memoir of William Hazlitt, the critic and historian. It says that the father of Hazlitt, also named William, a Presbyterian clergyman, was in America 1783–1787, and visited Carlisle, where the diary of his daughter said “he spent some time and might have been settled, with £300 a year and a prospect of being president of a college that was erecting if he would have subscribed the confession of faith which the Orthodox insisted on; but he told them he would sooner die in a ditch than submit to human authority in matters of religion.” It

is possible that he was approached concerning the vacant pastorate of the Presbyterian Church by members of that church, who were also trustees of the College, and they may have suggested the principalship of the College also as a possibility.

Shortly after the granting of the charter, Rush wrote Dr. Nisbet on the subject of the principalship. He wrote to various trustees, also, suggesting him for the place, and was soon able to make favorable report on this correspondence. Just a month after the charter had been granted [October 9] Rush wrote Montgomery, "I have written Messrs. King, Black and William Linn in Favor of Dr. Nisbet as our president." Black replies on January 1, 1784: "I am happy to find that a correspondence is open between you and Dr. Nisbet. . . . From such a heterogeneous composition as the body of our trustees . . . there will be a variety of sentiment . . . on the choice of the Principal. Therefore, some of us should come to an agreement by our spring meeting. . . . I know that prejudice of mankind in favor of that which comes from abroad. I should on that very account prefer a foreigner." Eleven days later King writes Rush, "Colonel [Montgomery] mentioned that you have a high opinion of Dr. Nisbet of Scotland as very proper to be Principal. . . . Most of us must be guided by those who are better informed." In February, 1784, Rush writes Montgomery, "I find Dr. Nisbet has many friends in our Board. . . . The President, Mr. Wilson, Col. McPherson and Mr. McClay," were "all in favor of him [Nisbet]." Apparently, the trustees were ready to follow any reasonable suggestion he might make.

Most of the trustees named in the charter seemed willing to follow Rush, but General Armstrong was of another type. Rush probably knew that he was a doubtful element in the Board, even though Montgomery had assured him that he was altogether changed after he had been put on the Board. Whether Rush knew it or not, difficulties soon developed in the correspondence. He wrote Armstrong on November 7,

and Armstrong's reply on January 6 showed that he had a different but really constructive policy to offer: "A prolific imagination may too often flatter a wise man into error. . . . You will admit the reasonableness and expedience of the design to be matter of distinct consideration and that in the course of human affairs many common as well as more elevated efforts readily miscarry, or at least lose their lustre, by being unseasonably introduced. Those propositions applied to the object in view hang heavy on my mind, lest at this feeble and embarrassed hour our resources and funds should prove greatly inadequate to the real use and reputation of a new college." He then proposes the following plan: "That moderate academies with not less than two professors in each be erected in every of our back counties, these tutors to be well appointed and the schools inspected, from whence a certain number could yet repair to the colleges that do exist. . . . In the exercise of this mode of education for a few years we should be more equal to the expense of the institution . . . and better know where to erect a college, for even the local situation is not so obvious as could be wished, unless another is designed in the west."

There now seems much prophetic wisdom in the doughty old soldier's suggestions. The first fifty years of its history—one could hardly call it life—show no great need for the College, while its poverty fully justified Armstrong's fear that the "resources and funds should prove greatly inadequate." The suggestion, too, that "the local situation is not so obvious as could be wished, unless another is designed in the west," was fully justified by the early organization of a college in the west to meet the needs of the growing population beyond the Alleghanies. In his next letter, he calls himself an old man, but he was justifying the adage, "an old man for counsel."

Rush replied February 22, but what he wrote may be only surmised from Armstrong's prompt answer six days later. Rush evidently tried to remove the doubts of Armstrong on the ground of "resources and funds"; and to this

end apparently the large subscriptions received or expected were called into action. The possibility of getting Dr. Nisbet was advanced and the opportunity for active usefulness the College would open to Armstrong was stressed. Armstrong's answer to Rush follows almost in full, because it has bearing on college issues and also gives some of a wise old man's views of old age.

I am at once pleased and surprised at the success you speak of . . . for your first meeting. . . . Such a man [as Dr. Nisbet] would indeed be an acquisition to the church in this county as well as to the proposed institution. . . . But, dear sir, you are exceedingly out at this time of the day in your expectation from my assistance respecting the College; only consider what a low ebb my activity is reduced even in the yet necessary affairs of life, to which you may add what experience has too often bought, that when a man becomes old, inactive and out of employ, he is easily forgot and the attention even of his friends becomes cursory and superficial. At the period nothing but a large estate can give influence in such business as you have in view—that I have not. Indeed, Sir, I have an interesting race to run with the world every day (however little I move abroad) not in collecting it in the pecuniary sense nor in counting its smiles in any sense, but to take my leave of it with as much facility, as of late it appears to do of me. I have not, however, obstinately determined to refuse the honor of a seat in your Board, but be that matter finally as it may, you must not, on reflection you will not, call it desertion.

Armstrong was yet in doubt as to whether he would accept his appointment as trustee. As late as March 25, less than two weeks before the first Carlisle Board meeting, Montgomery writes Rush that Linn, McPherson, Smith, Magaw, McCoskry and himself had taken the required oath and qualified as trustees, but Armstrong had declined. He delayed till the day of the meeting, April 6, when, with several others from a distance, he took the oath.

Rush was thus directing the thought of some of the trustees. He was doing his best to secure the hearty cooperation of the doubtful Armstrong, and was trying to add to the funds of the College. At the same time he was planning to organize the best possible College. He writes Montgomery, "I am preparing some thoughts to lay before the

Board . . . upon the spirit of education proper for the College in a Republican State"; and later, "I have at last finished my essay on the mode of education proper in a republic, which I shall request the liberty of laying before the trustees of our College. It has cost me a great amount of severe study." There is no definite evidence that he laid this paper before the trustees. At any rate, he was greatly pleased with the meeting. The paper he had prepared appears as the second essay in his volume of "Essays, Literary, Moral and Philosophical."

Rush was practically alone in active prosecution of the interests of the College during these early months of its charter life. Even Dickinson, whose name the College bears, appears to have taken only a passive interest apart from his "very liberal donation" cited in the charter. What this donation was will probably never be known, other than the inclusion of "a manor" in York County, and two in Cumberland County—one of them incumbered with a mortgage and given on condition that an annuity be paid Mrs. Nisbet. Dickinson gave also a number of books, estimated as high as 1,500, some of which are yet in the college library, with the quaint bookplate of Isaac Norris, father of Mrs. Dickinson. Apart from these books, Dickinson's gifts out of his wealth were probably equaled by the gifts of Rush out of his poverty or his very moderate means.

The first Carlisle meeting of the Board of Trustees, held pursuant to adjournment, April 6, 1784, adopted the plans Rush had been maturing. There were present John Dickinson, John Armstrong, John Montgomery, Thomas Hartley, Robert Magaw, James Jacks, Stephen Duncan, Robert Cooper, John King, Alexander Dobbin, John Black, John Linn, William Linn, Benjamin Rush and Samuel McCoskry. Only fifteen of the forty trustees named in the charter appeared at this first and most important meeting in Carlisle; yet this was probably the largest meeting any one of them would ever attend. Nine of them were from Cumberland County, three from York, one from Lancaster

and two from Philadelphia. Already the Board had become local; nine of the fifteen were from Cumberland County. It was Dickinson's last meeting and Rush's last but one.

The fifteen thus met "went in procession to the Episcopal Church, where a sermon was delivered by the Rev. John Black, suitable to the occasion." They afterward met at Col. Montgomery's, and those not before qualified having taken the oath required by the charter of the College then adjourned to the court-house. Being met at 5 o'clock P.M., "His Excellency, the President," addressed the Board, as here probably first printed:

Gentlemen: At any time it would afford me a very great pleasure to find myself in the company I now have the honor of meeting. That satisfaction is more enlivened when I consider the occasion that has brought us together and the qualifications of the persons now in my view for performing the trust they are undertaking.

We are assembled to begin the execution of a plan originating from such pure intentions and directed by such worthy purposes that I humbly hope we may without presumption believe the oblation of our endeavors will not be unacceptable before the best and greatest of Beings. May His Goodness deign to bless the exertions of us and our successors, so that all their effects may be agreeable to His will. Certain I am that you will cheerfully assent to this inestimable truth that no human pursuits deserve regard but what will ultimately refer to that sealing approbation.

Those who have been principally concerned in setting forward this constitution have been excited to the design by several considerations which shall be mentioned. Other motives indeed have been imputed to them, but through mistake.

In the first place, they found their minds impressed with a warm sense of gratitude to the Supreme Governor of the universe for the many signal mercies manifested to the people of this land through the late arduous conflict and in its conclusion. Secondly, they judged they could not better employ the beginning of the peace so graciously bestowed than by forming an establishment for advancing the interests of religion, virtue, freedom and literature. Thirdly, they thought that they could not confer a greater benefit upon their country than by promoting the good education of others. Fourthly, they were of the opinion that the particular difficulties and discouragements with respect to such education which the western part of this State labored under, called in a powerful manner for their attention. Lastly, affectionate and favorable sentiments with the sanction of a wise and patriotic Assembly produced that organization which the system now bears.

It would little become me in this audience and after the excellent discourse which we have this day heard to employ many words in recommending the advantages of good education. You, Gentlemen, are acquainted with them and estimate them at their high and just value. As you are sensible of their importance to the character of the man, the citizen and the Christian, I am sure your hearts will be ardently engaged in generous attempts to diffuse their salutary influences as extensively as possible. Nor can it be reasonably apprehended that your diligence and perseverance will not be properly aided by your fellow citizens.

When the inhabitants of this and neighboring counties observe your faithful labors for communicating to their youth the treasures of science collected by the wise and good of all ages and names, what father can be so cruel as not to strive that his children may partake of the distribution. Miserably will he deceive himself by supposing that any inheritance he can bequeath is to be compared with a well cultivated mind. It is betraying posterity to leave them wealth without teaching them how to use it and thus too frequently all the cares and toils of a parent's life prove to be utterly thrown away by his neglecting the great article of instruction.

Your efforts, Gentlemen, will be directed to prevent these and the innumerable mischiefs, public as well as private, that spring from defective education. My best wishes will constantly attend your laudable exertions and I shall be happy at all times and in any capacity to give you every assistance in my power.

The Board requested the President and Dr. Rush to prepare a seal with proper device and motto. Two days later they reported as follows:

Size of seal—the seal to be of silver about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in thickness.

Device—A Bible open, a telescope and a cap of liberty over each other.

Motto—*Pietate et doctrina tuta libertas* (under the device).

Around the circumference—*Sigillum Collegii Dickinsonii*.

That "the President has provided a seal agreeable to the description in the minutes" is recorded in the trustee minutes of September 28, 1784.

On the following day, April 7, the Committee on Subscriptions reported that "the funds appeared to be £257, 15s. in cash, £1381, 17s., 6p. in certificates, £1200 in land, and that so much of this is immediately productive as will raise about £130¹ per annum."

¹The pound when not given specifically as the pound sterling of \$4.86, is the Pennsylvania pound of \$2.66 $\frac{2}{3}$.

It was ordered that all land contributed be sold as soon as possible, and that the proceeds be invested in bank shares. Committees were appointed to solicit subscriptions in various sections; to prepare a petition to the General Assembly for endowment, as well as an address to the Lutherans to secure their coöperation; to negotiate for the purchase of "the public works¹ erected near the Borough of Carlisle and the necessary land adjacent for the use and accomodation of the College." The petitions for aid to the Assembly and to the Lutherans apparently had little result. The Assembly made no grant at this time, and the Lutherans replied in courteous terms that "a committee of two had been appointed to attend to the matter." But that ended it!

The important business of this first Carlisle meeting was the choice of a Principal of the College and the first Professor of the College. Mr. James Ross, already in charge of the Grammar School, was at once elected Professor of Languages. He appeared before the Board and qualified by taking the required oath. "The Rev. Dr. Charles Nisbet of Montrose, Scotland, was unanimously elected Principal of Dickinson College," and it was

Resolved, That £250 sterling or the value thereof in Pennsylvania money be the annual salary allowed to Dr. Nisbet, if he accept the place of Principal of Dickinson College, that his salary commence on the day of his embarkation, that he have a house for the accomodation of himself and family, and that a bill of £50 sterling be immediately transmitted to him to assist in defraying the expense of his passage to this country.

Resolved, That the President be requested to transmit a copy of the above minute with the bill of exchange and a letter of invitation to Dr. Nisbet by the first convenient opportunity, as also that Mr. Hill be requested to furnish the President with said bill of exchange.

Adjournment to September 29, 1784, then followed.

¹The "public works" used by the colonies for military purposes have had a long list of names: Washingtonburg, one of the early places named for the General; the Public Works, the Barracks, the Indian School, the United States Government Hospital; and now, in 1933, the United States Field Medical Training School.

CHARLES NISBET COMES TO AMERICA

PRESIDENT DICKINSON of the Board of Trustees wrote Dr. Nisbet on April 21, 1784, just two weeks after his election. His reply is of record in the trustee minutes, and indicates his probable acceptance, though he asked for further information before a final decision.

In addition to this first and official notice, Dickinson wrote him two other letters, which might be called semi-official. The granting of the college charter was something of a political issue, and the 1784 elections in Pennsylvania seemed to Dickinson unfavorable to the College. On October 25, therefore, Dickinson again wrote Nisbet that there had been such political changes as to make him "apprehend that the law for establishing a college at Carlisle will be repealed or at least the design will be exceedingly discouraged and impeded. I therefore think myself bound in honor . . . to request you will not think of coming to America . . . until I can assure you that prospects are much more favorable." On receipt of this letter Nisbet reasonably decided accordingly, as a letter to his friend, the Earl of Buchan, shows, and two sentences from the Earl's reply are interesting. "A mother whose constitution is broken seldom produces healthy children. I am sorry to see the features of the mother grow every day stronger in North America, and I can hardly condole with you upon your being obliged to live with your countrymen."

President Dickinson's second letter was without the knowledge of the other trustees and caused consternation among them when they learned of it. Rush was their spokesman, and a bitter spokesman he was. He wrote Montgomery on November 13, 1784, that Dickinson's letter was "big with ruin to our hopes—an act of treachery"; did he wish to "annihilate our college and thereby to prevent any further draught made upon him for its support? I know not, but



PRINCIPAL CHARLES NISBET

First Principal, July to October, 1785; 1786-1804

he has become the most formidable enemy to our College that ever we have yet known. . . . I have spoken very plainly to Mr. Dickinson, but all of this had no effect upon him. He said it becomes us to act with prudence. I replied in warm terms that prudence when honor is concerned is a rascally virtue."

Rush may have been mistaken in thinking that "all this had no effect upon him," for only two days after Rush had so written Montgomery, on November 15, Dickinson wrote again to Dr. Nisbet, saying, "Since my letter to you, the General Assembly has evinced such a temper of conciliation and liberality, many . . . are fully convinced that no attempt will be made against [the college]. . . . My hopes are stronger . . . in favor of the institution. . . . You may entirely confide in the intelligence they [some of the trustees] may transmit."

The letter of these trustees, in which Dickinson said Dr. Nisbet might "entirely confide," said that the fears of Dickinson seemed to them "wholly without foundation"; that they were "fully of the opinion that the charter of the College is as secure as any private property in the State"; and they also begged of Nisbet to "place the fullest confidence in the assurance and obligation of the Board of Trustees contained in their public letter of the 30th of September last" [1784]. This later letter in answer to Dickinson's fears was signed by Rush and three others.

Rush later writes Montgomery how anxious he had been: "I have experienced degrees of anxiety I never felt before. Colleges like children, I find, are not borne without labor pains. But all will end well. Our brat will repay us hereafter for all the trouble it has given us."

Dickinson had in his later letter to Dr. Nisbet told of much more favorable political conditions in the state; but nevertheless the letter must have caused misgivings in his mind. In addition to this he had a wise old Scotch friend, Lady Leven, who advised him strongly against an immediate acceptance of the call to the new college. She wrote Nisbet on July 26, shortly after he had received Dickinson's notifica-

tion of his election and Rush's early letters, "I think it plain that you ought to be in no hurry with your positive determination, as the foundation of the college seems not yet to be laid. . . . I find, from what I can learn, that the whole originates from Dr. Rush. His temper is warm and lively His eloquence I have had much experience of by a long correspondence with his family. . . . How do you know whether the forty members of the Board of Trustees . . . will all continue of *one mind*, especially as they are composed of *all sects*? . . . How do you know but that Dr. —— [probably Witherspoon of Princeton] is in the right, and that he is really your friend, in dissuading you from going. . . . It [the College] has not yet come the length of the infant described by the good Doctor. . . . Remember that I write you in confidence, never to be read but by yourself. . . . I should think the call to such a sort of vigorous duty, was more the province of pious young men, than one come to your time of life, with such indifferent health as yours." She wrote him again in November, "You are not endowed with a hardy spirit. You do not seem formed for enterprises in the bustle of public life. . . . Surely there are many arguments on the *staying* side very weighty, as well as upon the side of removing, had I the pen of a Rush to illustrate them. I do not think his fixing on you at the distance of twenty years, at all surprising. It is a question if he had heard much concerning people in your line during that time, and scarcely of any one whose character he could depend upon as friendly to America. So that he had, perhaps, no other choice. . . . The present call from abroad certainly appears far from clear, and is at best but an indigested scheme."

It was no easy task to persuade a man enjoying a life tenure among a loyal people, surrounded by such friends as Nisbet had. But Rush was a remarkable man, and usually had his own way despite obstacles and enemies. He was determined that Dr. Nisbet should accept the appointment, and urging this acceptance he more than made up for any possible lack of warmth in the formal letters of Dickinson.

At once following his election, Rush wrote Nisbet, and again on May 15, "in such terms as to induce you to accept . . . [The public] destine our college to be the first in America under your direction and government. . . . The ministers who compose the synod of New York and Philadelphia begin to feel themselves interested in your arrival. They begin to expect in proportion to your superior knowledge and ability that you will bear a superior share of the labor in the harvest field of the Church in America. . . . You have a dislike to the sea. . . . It must not separate you from us. Your benevolence and sense of duty, I am sure, will overcome every fear, and even antipathy itself. Remember the words of the Saviour—"It is I—I, who govern both winds and waves. I, who have qualified you with so many gifts and graces for the station to which you are called. I, who by my Providence have made your name known and dear to the people of America. I, who have many people in that country, to be enlightened and instructed, directly or indirectly, by you. I, who preside over the whole vineyard of my church, and, therefore know best in what part of it to place the most skillful workmen. It is I, who call you to quit your native country and to spend the remainder of your days in that new world in which the triumphs of the Gospel shall ere long be no less remarkable than the triumphs of liberty. I have now done with ministers of my Providence. Washington and the Adams have finished their work. Hereafter I shall operate on the American States chiefly by the ministers of my grace."

June 1, but two weeks later, he writes again: "Our prospects . . . brighten daily. Our funds amount to near 3,000 pounds, and as to buildings, we expect to purchase some public works built with brick within a half mile of Carlisle during the late war. They are large and commodious and may be had at small expense from the United States. Our Legislature has patronized a new college insomuch that we expect an endowment from them at their next session of 500 pounds a year. . . . We have little doubt but what we

shall have 10,000 pounds in the course of a year or two from public and private donations. Indeed, Sir, every finger of the hand of Heaven has been visible in our behalf. . . . Dickinson College, with Dr. Nisbet at its head, bids fair for being the first literary institution in America."

In a letter of November 28, Rush compares the public order in Britain with that in America. "The factions, riots and executions in London, and the bankruptcies, clamors and distresses of every part of England and Scotland afford a most striking contrast to the order, industry and contentment which prevail in every part of this country. . . . All crimes that have been committed since the war have been by deserters from the British Army and emigrants from Britain and Ireland, and indeed even these have been comparatively few. The means of subsistence here are so easy and the profits of honest labor so great that rogues find it less difficult to live by work than by plunder. . . . I have written three letters to you within these three weeks, in each of which I have given you such assurances of the safety and flourishing state of our College as will determine you to embark in the Spring for Pennsylvania."

In other letters Rush assured Dr. Nisbet that the Board of Trustees embraced many men of wealth, every one of whom would consider his estate and his honor pledged to see that their newly elected Principal should not have a want so long as he lived. It is not known how many letters Rush wrote Nisbet during these months, but they were many.

Rush surely painted in glowing colors, for there was no pledge of help from the Legislature, and only small state help was ever granted. The £10,000 suggested in the correspondence as their early expectation was never realized during the lifetime of either of them. The College never had so much at any time within fifty years. His statement that the Public Works "may be had at small expense" from the United States must have been based mostly upon hope, inasmuch as years of negotiation for their rent or purchase were fruitless. The forty trustees upon whose "honor and estate" Nisbet

was assured that he might rely, seem to have been really but little interested. Dickinson alone excepted, the men of great wealth on the Board, whose "honor and estate" were committed to the enterprise, did very little to increase the resources of the College. William Bingham, of Philadelphia, made one of the largest subscriptions, £400 in loan office certificates, or about a thousand dollars. This greatly encouraged Rush, yet two actions of the Board, years after it was made, show that it was then unpaid, despite effort to collect it.

Another wealthy trustee left the College, at his death, a petty bequest of \$200. Financial aid from the trustees was the exception and not the rule. The clergy showed no signs that they were waiting for Dr. Nisbet to "bear a superior share of the labor in the harvest field of the Church in America." The fingers "of the hand of Heaven . . . visible in our behalf," as described by Rush, seemed suddenly to disappear on Nisbet's arrival. The Rush idyll on our freedom from crime, disorder, and riot had rude contradiction in the real conditions of our frontier life two years after Nisbet's arrival, with fierce and bloody riots in the streets of Carlisle over the Federal Constitution. Later, during the Whisky Rebellion, there was further contradiction in a near attack on his home, prevented only by the sickness of his daughter, and this because he dared preach in favor of the observance of law from the Presbyterian pulpit in Carlisle.

Rush unwittingly misled Nisbet, and he did not expect to disappoint him. On the contrary, he planned to give him such welcome and support as to make him successful and happy. His letters to Nisbet were warm and personal. He writes on November 28, 1784, "We have allotted a room in our house for your reception which goes by the name of Dr. Nisbet's room. My little folks often mention your name, especially my boys, and they have been taught to consider you their future master."

The following June Rush took the first steps in keeping his promises. There was to be a meeting of the Board in Carlisle which he had planned to attend. He changed his

plans, however, on learning that Dr. Nisbet would probably arrive in Philadelphia during this meeting, and in May writes the Board, "After having made the necessary preparations for attending the meeting of your Board next month, it is no small disappointment to me to be deprived of that pleasure. I have submitted to the advice of my friends as well as to the dictates of my own judgment by consenting to remain in Philadelphia in order to receive Doctor Nisbet upon his arrival from Scotland, in such a manner as to give him the most favorable ideas of the disposition of our trustees towards him."

In furtherance of this plan he met Dr. Nisbet on his arrival in Philadelphia on June 9, 1785, and made the stranger at home. Not only "Dr. Nisbet's room" was at Nisbet's command, but apparently most of the Rush home. Nisbet, his wife, two sons and two daughters were the welcome guests of Rush for three weeks, till their departure for Carlisle, June 30. During this time Rush wrote enthusiastic letters to Montgomery in Carlisle on the character of Nisbet and the impression he was making. Of his own personal feelings he wrote on June 14, "I am so chained down to his company that I regret leaving him for a moment to attend to my business. Indeed, my friend, in the arrival of Doctor Nisbet I can see the new sun has risen upon Pennsylvania. His whole soul is set on doing good, and his capacity has seldom, I believe, been exceeded by any man in this country. . . ." June 24 he wrote, "Mr. Dickinson . . . called on the Doctor's family . . . and offered me his services for the Doctor. . . . He told me that we might command him in any way. 'I will endow professorships. In the meanwhile let the Doctor and his worthy family want for nothing.' . . . Doctor Nisbet has charmed everybody with his preaching. He is pleased with everything he sees and hears. Indeed, 'tis he deserves everything from our hands. . . . The most disinterested man I ever met with. The more I see of him, the more I love and admire him."

A third letter says, "After congratulating you from the

bottom of my heart upon Doctor N.'s safe arrival, I beg leave to suggest a few things to you that are calculated to make a good impression upon the Doctor on his arrival in Carlisle. . . . One of the best speakers in the College . . . deliver an address to him. . . . Request Doctor Davidson to compose it for him. . . . Meet the Doctor on his way to Carlisle. . . . Suppose the court-house bell should be rung as he enters the town. Will make a clever paragraph in the Philadelphia papers." Again he writes, "Did I not tell you so? Is not every wish and hope gratified in him? Indeed, my friend, he has stolen so much of my affection that his absence has left a blank both in my heart and family."

Thus Rush had secured the man of his choice, and three weeks of close association fully satisfied him that Dr. Nisbet was the man for the place. He was not only satisfied, but almost extravagantly happy at the outcome. Nisbet was by nature less impulsive than Rush, but he also was happy over the outlook. The attentions of Rush and others in Philadelphia, Dickinson among them, had their influence, as shown by at least one letter of the time, for he wrote the Earl of Buchan that his prospects were more encouraging than he expected. Both men were in good spirits, and there was promise of a future of fine coöperation in their work for the College.

There follows an unsolved riddle in the College story. Nisbet left the home of Rush for Carlisle on June 30, and Rush seems never again to have greeted him as friend. It is not known whether the cause for the change was earlier, but the first evidence of it appears when Rush attended a meeting of the Board in Carlisle, August 9. Though in Carlisle at least three days, Rush did not even see Nisbet, then a discouraged and very sick man, sadly needing the ministry of Rush as a physician, but especially as a friend.

After Rush had been in Carlisle two days, Nisbet wrote him a wretchedly scrawled note from his sick-bed:

Tomb of Dickinson College, August 10, 1785

Dear Sir: And is this thy kindness to thy friend? To have been two whole days in this place without a single moment's tête-à-tête. This

ought not so to be. If I were in health I would have waited on you by night or by day, to have snatched every moment you could spare. Please let me know by the bearer, if or when I am to be favored with a few minutes' conference before you leave this place.

I am, dear Sir, your much injured

CHARLES NISBET

Rush inexplicably ignored this plea of the man he had so urgently invited, so enthusiastically welcomed, and so generously treated in his home. After his return to Philadelphia he wrote Montgomery to "Keep up Dr. Nisbet's spirit." He had heard that Mrs. Nisbet in Scotland was "as much dissatisfied as she is with Carlisle. Her natural temper is to complain and find fault. . . . She is a good-hearted woman, and with all her whinings she never made anybody unhappy but her husband." He also enclosed a letter for Dr. Nisbet. "Send the enclosed letter to Dr. Nisbet. Say nothing about his note to me to anybody. . . . I have written him in great freedom. If we pay his salary punctually and get him sufficient assistance in College his complaints will all rebound on himself."

Rush's change of attitude at this time is puzzling. Nisbet himself did not know of cause for this change before it appeared in August. He had looked forward with pleasure to Rush's coming to Carlisle. Yet the last sentence of Rush's letter to Montgomery above, coupled with Nisbet's first letter to Rush from Carlisle may furnish a possible key to the puzzle.

Nisbet arrived in Carlisle on July 4, 1785, took the oath of office the next day, and entered upon the discharge of his duties. Ten days later, July 15, he wrote Rush a letter, though, as he found no early messenger to take it to Philadelphia, he added to it, eight days later. In this first letter Nisbet gives a general but hasty report on college conditions as he found them, and the now homesick Scot unfortunately adds some of his personal feelings, his longing for home, and the state of mind and possible purpose of his family to return to Scotland. "I am persuaded that nothing can be done

with the boys here while they occupy the present school nor till the higher classes are separated from the lower. A master capable of teaching the principles of grammar is absolutely necessary to make Mr. Ross's appointment as professor of Latin and Greek of any use to the students. Even in that case he will have the work of two men to perform. At present he performs the work of three, viz., Latin, Schoolmaster, Humanity and Greek Professor. A Professor of Natural Philosophy ought to be chosen in time that he may prepare his lectures before he is called to teach . . . free from ague, but we are experiencing another severe disorder, *desiderium patriæ* . . . my wife and children are unhappy and laying plans to return to Scotland, or to carry me with them thither. . . . I know not where this will end. . . . Perhaps all emigrants are uneasy for a time, even those who recover afterward. The low state of your funds and the present condition of this country fill me with alarm, the uncertainty of my situation and the unhappiness of my family add not a little to them. . . . When I consider my present situation I am often filled with melancholy thoughts and consider myself a deposed minister, or a deserter of my charge. . . . I have not yet written Lady Leven that things are disagreeable, as I hope a favorable change may take place. . . . If you do not come up [to the August meeting of the trustees] I am afraid nothing will be done to increase the funds or to procure from Congress a full right to the building." He continues eight days later: "Finding no opportunity of sending my letter I resume the pen. . . . Since I arrived we have got two new scholars, one from Washington County and one from Trenton. . . . I know not what to say to your proposal of boarders, as it is hard to find any victuals in the market here, and no meat can be kept over night without putrefaction. We still dread the month of August, but hope for consolation from your friendly conversation and medical advice. There seems to be a want of virtue and public spirit somewhere. How is this to be remedied? Expecting the pleasure of seeing you soon, I am, CHARLES NISBET."

This letter seems innocent enough to the casual reader. It told what the College needed, all of which Nisbet had a right to expect. There was no provision for room to teach beyond that of the old Grammar School—one room “not twenty feet square,” and only two teachers; no book-store in the town; no approach to the ample funds promised; the state of social and public morals seemed low; the hot Carlisle summer oppressed them all; and they all longed for home. No wonder that he hoped Rush could attend the meeting of the Board in August!

There was no friendly response. The first answer was Rush's refusal to visit Nisbet in Carlisle, and his final answer was written later, on his return to Philadelphia. The letter itself is lost, but the spirit in which it was written may be inferred from several things. Rush wrote Montgomery, “Do you remember the harsh and cruel note I received from Doctor Nisbet at Carlisle?” and cautioned him to say nothing to anybody about it. He said that he had written Nisbet a letter “in great freedom,” one, we may guess, not likely to help the discouraged Nisbet.

Rush's letter was answered by Nisbet's son, Tom, when the father was too sick to write, and the son's answer is preserved. His letter shows that Rush had written Dr. Nisbet that a man should be thankful that the Carlisle heat was not the fires of hell, that he should accept Carlisle markets and not long for the flesh-pots of Egypt, and that he should be brave enough to stand by his task. It is not surprising that Tom also wrote “in great freedom,” nor that Rush wrote Montgomery of this letter of Tom's, “Oh, my friend, it [Dr. Nisbet's note to him in Carlisle] is nothing compared with a letter I received from his son, Tom, in answer to a most friendly letter I sent to him to try to reconcile him to Carlisle and our country.”

This letter of the son may have justified the strictures of Rush on it to Montgomery. However, if reasonable inferences from it of Rush's “friendly” letter are correct, the provocation was very great. Rush had not even mentioned

the real college questions raised in Nisbet's letter; no answer was possible. He had, however, discussed Nisbet's troubles and the discouragement of his family, "in great freedom," even to the point of cruelty, it might seem, as the man to whom he wrote was in a strange country, lonely, sick, and expecting to die.

The break between Nisbet and Rush, the two most influential factors in the affairs of the College for nineteen years, thus came as early as August, 1785, two months after Nisbet landed in Philadelphia. It was not due, as some have concluded, to any differences about salary. Rush forced the break. Either Rush saw that he was unable to keep his early promises to Dr. Nisbet, or he thought the latter lacking in the heroic elements demanded by the new College.

All guesses and favorable interpretations aside, however, there are certain hard facts in the case from Nisbet's side. If ever a man was taken up into a high mountain by another and shown the Kingdom, Nisbet was so taken by Rush; and, hard though it may be for a friend of the College to say it of Rush, the real founder of the College, as those who thus take men up generally desert them, so Rush deserted Nisbet in the hour of his trouble. It must be owned, too, that Rush had a gift for breaking with his friends. He could not claim for himself what Nisbet claimed in their correspondence, when he wrote, "In Europe I never lost a friend except by death; the friends of my youth are the friends of my mature age, and those who were my friends at twelve years of age continue to be still with increased, instead of diminished, esteem." Rush had broken with many before. He was at one time close to Washington, and frequently entertained him in his home, but his fault-finding faculty was busy here also. He wrote an unsigned letter to Patrick Henry, sharply criticizing the Commander-in-Chief, which he later tried hard, but vainly, to suppress. The late Judge Edward W. Biddle, for nineteen years President of the college Board of Trustees, in "The Founding and Founders of Dickinson College," thus generously writes of Rush: "His ardent and

aggressive nature repeatedly involved him in dispute, resulting at intervals in much anguish of spirit, so that we may fancy him on many occasions sorrowfully murmuring the lament of Hamlet,

The time is out of joint, O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right."

Benjamin Rush was a very great man. He gave much of his life to public service, and while he engaged other men in his public enterprises, he urged nobody to do more than he was himself doing willingly. This was shown in Philadelphia's fearful scourges of yellow fever. While many fled the city, Rush remained and was constant in his service, day and night, and nobody under compulsion served more faithfully than did he as a volunteer. He was great in many ways, despite some faults of character, faults taking on at times some of the large characteristics of the man. He was impetuous, and saw things in the large; his plans were patriotic and humanitarian, and he pressed to their realization with a fierce energy which made him impatient of opposition.

Dickinson College was part of Rush's statesmanlike educational plan for Pennsylvania—colleges in Carlisle, Pittsburgh, and Lancaster, and a university in Philadelphia,—and into its accomplishment he threw himself with all his imperious purpose and will. He was wise enough to see that for this plan Dickinson needed at its head a man of commanding qualities, a scholar the equal of any to be found anywhere in America; and when he had found him he held out promises to him, many of which were improbable, and some nearly impossible, of fulfillment under any ordinary conditions.

Friends of the College especially are likely to be generous in their judgment of Benjamin Rush, when they find that their College was little short of a religion with him, as many of his statements show. He calls the College "that nursery of learning and religion." He declared "Our cause is the cause of virtue and heaven." "It *must*, it *will* prosper," he asserts to a discouraged follower. He chides a friend seeming

Gentlemen,

Philadelphia, 10th ^{June} 1788.

Having happily arrived here yesterday, after a Passage of Seven & forty Days from Greenwich, I would have cheerfully attended your Meeting at Carlisle on Tuesday next, but being still somewhat fatigued in Consequence of my Voyage, and having some Business to transact in this City, I was advised by Dr. Kuffe to postpone my Attendance to your next adjourned Meeting of which I hope to have mature Notice, I hope that this Step will meet the Approbation of the Trustees, & am, with great Respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obliged

humble servant,

Cha.^s Nisbet.

CHARLES NISBET'S LETTER TO THE TRUSTEES ON HIS
ARRIVAL IN AMERICA



REPLICA OF THE FIRST COLLEGE BUILDING
Erected 1773. Used by the College, 1784-1805

to lag in fidelity, "I am afraid you are growing careless of the child you have helped to bring into the world." "I think of it constantly. All will end well." "Think of nothing else, do nothing else, but collect subscriptions for the College." "Get money. Get it honorably, if you can, but get money for the College!" "The dear petulant brat. . . . If I thought my bones could receive pleasure after my death from being near the object of my affection, I should give orders to have them deposited under the present College of Carlisle." After Dr. Davidson had made a successful visit to Baltimore for subscriptions he writes, "Show me a man that loves and serves our College, and he is my brother." "Give over our College? God forbid!" He voices his sorrow for one of the trustees who in 1784 could not be "at Carlisle on the 6th of April to join with the friends of humanity and virtue in consecrating our temple of justice." If he was friendly to the College and its friends, he was equally bitter toward its enemies. Of one of these he asks, "What new rewards can the devil find out to confer. . . . He would strangle the Saviour and poison the twelve Apostles, if they stood in his way. . . . He is not less formidable for malice and wickedness than the Devil himself."

A man who felt as deeply as these sayings of his would indicate has claim upon us for charity of judgment under any circumstances, and the scholar he secured to head the College was really its main asset for many years—such an asset as made it respectable in spite of many adverse conditions. When Nisbet died, after nineteen years of service, the College had won such a position that even the following thirty years of untamed trustee administration was not quite able to kill it. Though its doors were closed twice [1816–1821 and 1832–1834], it had made such a record in the lives of its students that the memory of what had been, of the golden age of Nisbet, doubtless had much to do with its resurrection.

DR. NISBET RESIGNS, AND IS REËLECTED

CHARLES NISBET took the cumbersome oath of office on July 5, 1785, "omitting that part respecting his demeaning himself as a faithful citizen and subject of this or any of the United States, before his arrival in America"; and began his work. However, he and his entire family soon became seriously ill. He had relief at times, but only temporarily, and before the end of August he notified Rush that he would return to Scotland as soon as possible, and in this determination he remained fixed for months, despite urgent appeals to the contrary.

During their first days in Carlisle the Nisbet family were the guests of John Montgomery. They then went to the "Works," and were delighted with their home. However, the lowlands along the Letort were marshy, and they soon became victims of malaria. Rush inveighed bitterly against the place as unfit for occupancy, saying that during the late war medicines for those stationed there had cost more than was required to support a full regiment. Miasma, such as might "stifle a bird flying over the place," and night air were freely blamed, but the really dangerous mosquito was not suspected. The family moved into another house in the town for a time, but the damage had been done.

Dr. Nisbet wrote of his sickness: "Since ever I landed in this country I have felt a constant progressive decay of strength and natural spirits, accompanied with a dullness and bluntness of the intellectual faculties, and a perpetual sensation of lassitude without previous exertion. My night's rest has almost gone from me, and my memory and recollection has become weak and indistinct. All these symptoms preceded the attack of the fever, and seemed to be the operation of the climate alone. It is true that since the fever I am still weaker and fainter." Again in September he writes, "I have lost my health and vigor. . . . I have lost

much of the strength of the right side of my body and contracted a confusion of thought which I never formerly experienced."

Dr. Nisbet wrote many letters on the subject, and they show that he was both sick and homesick. The unwonted heat of the new climate had probably undermined his strength. Malaria had followed, and then came a slight stroke of paralysis. He was in very bad case, and Rush wrote in September to Montgomery, "I feel in the most sensible manner the distressing account you have given me of good Dr. Nisbet's illness. I hope the next report of him will be more favorable. His death would be a great blow to the interests of religion and learning in our country. But the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. All will be well."

Dr. Nisbet, however, was set on his return to Scotland. He longed for home with a very great longing, and had persuaded himself that it was the will of the Lord that he should go. He wrote: "If Providence disables me from doing the duties of my office, by taking away my health, who can help it? . . . I had promised myself great satisfaction, not to say distinction, in discharging the duties of my office with fidelity. . . . I am afraid I have been too sanguine in my expectations, and may have provoked God to write vanity on my favourite prospects. . . . The hand of God is irresistible."

Nisbet's decision to resign and return to Scotland, reached in August, caused consternation for a time, and Rush writes to Armstrong and Montgomery, September 2, the chief letter to the former, telling the latter to call on Armstrong to see the letter written him. "It will unfold a melancholy tale too. The whole must be kept as private as possible. By prudent management all may yet be well. You and the General must concur in soothing the Doctor and in reconciling him to our country. I have written three long letters to him in which I have opened fully to him the prospects of usefulness, honor and happiness that await him in his present important station. . . . Keep up your spirits; mine were never better."

He wrote them again, September 9, that he was distressed for the possible loss of Nisbet to religion and learning in our country.

However, all consideration for Nisbet on Rush's part disappears four days after the above letter of September 9. Letters of the Nisbets to Philadelphia friends giving their views of college conditions had been reported to him, and almost in a rage Rush writes Montgomery in Carlisle, "Our city rings with nothing but the complaints of Dr. Nisbet's family against our College, climate and the village of Carlisle. If they should at a future day alter their resolution, the Doctor, I am afraid, could not be useful to our infant institution. He has done it more mischief than can ever be atoned for by his greatest exertions. . . . The Doctor will cost us the whole of Mr. Dickinson's late donation. What then? We are only where we were when we sent for him. All will end well. . . ."

Armstrong, Nisbet, and Rush, the three men now most active in the college drama, rather tragedy, being acted, all agreed that Nisbet should return to Scotland, the first two because of Nisbet's broken health, and the third because he believed Nisbet could no longer benefit the College, "with his present family." The time of his resignation and the financial terms on which he should go were not so clear. Rush proposed that Dr. Nisbet should resign at the next trustee meeting, but he replied that this would leave him without further claims on them for salary, and that he and family would be in a strange land far from home and without means to reach that home. Rush answered that the trustees were already heavy losers in that they had brought him to this country without any return. Dr. Nisbet's reply was pathetic enough, "You will say the Trustees have lost much in bringing me hither. I am sincerely sorry for it, but their loss is trifling in comparison to mine. I have lost the life tenure of a benefice of £120 sterling per annum. I have lost my health and vigor. . . . My loss is greatest, who must become an adventurer in my old age." His position was unanswer-

able, and it was agreed that on the resignation the trustees would meet the expenses of the return to Scotland. This arrangement was formally endorsed by the trustees on October 16, 1785. Nisbet's resignation was coupled with a separate statement that it was due to his health alone. The resignation was accepted with assurances of deep regret.

At least a month before Dr. Nisbet's resignation, individual trustees were openly, with his full approval, talking of a successor. He alone was certain. He wrote that he was "exceedingly glad to see . . . that you have thought of a successor. I wish only to quietly and as quickly as possible get out of this country."

Sharp differences, however, developed among the trustees. There was no thought of the reelection of Dr. Nisbet, which later occurred, and there were at least three suggestions. Rush was for once in doubt, though he tentatively suggested the son of Jonathan Edwards. King, of Mercersburg, was "persuaded that the selection of any foreigner would not receive any support by the Trustees," and favored the election of Davidson. Montgomery also favored Davidson, who was his pastor; Armstrong opposed Davidson. Armstrong's sister was the wife of the pastor of the other Presbyterian Church of Carlisle, and church rivalry may have had something to do with his position, for Armstrong makes a thinly veiled threat against the election of Davidson, "one Trustee would declare open war against it."

In December, Armstrong writes Rush "Davidson lacks the scholarly reputation needed for the principalship . . . write Montgomery, and tell him so . . . We ought not to give up a possibility of Dr. Nisbet's stay with us." Nisbet's health was improving. Rush writes Montgomery very promptly "The less you say of Dr. Davidson the better," thus supporting Armstrong against the plans of his old friend.

Armstrong alone seems to have brought Dr. Nisbet to the attention of others for the place. In October, shortly after the resignation, he wrote Rush "Dr. Nisbet from his paralytic symptoms is really an object of pity." The following

month he wrote Rush: "Dr. Nisbet is recovering his intellectual faculties fast, and his favorite Scotch Ship is not likely to arrive for a winter passage. Who knows, then, what Providence yet designs to do?" December 29, King writes Rush: "Dr. Nisbet is pretty well recovered, and appears better reconciled to the Country."

Dr. Nisbet was yet in Carlisle, two months after his resignation, because he had refused to sail for home under an Irish captain. Any Atlantic voyage was bad enough—forty-seven days he had spent on the ocean coming to America—and he would not risk any worse conditions under an Irish captain whom he did not trust.

When it became clear to the local trustees that Dr. Nisbet's health was much better, though he was slow to admit it, King lamented the fact that there had been no earlier Scotch boat, a wish doubtless heartily seconded by Rush. He wanted none of the Nisbets. In November, when there was no thought of Dr. Nisbet's return to the College, he wrote: "Poor man. I have constantly considered him as insane, his wife as foolish, and his son Tom as worse than both." Nisbet's recovery, however, at once put a new face on the problems before the trustees.

Though Dr. Nisbet was being urged by Armstrong after November, Rush and the trustees from a distance were unfavorable to him, the latter probably influenced by the letters of Rush. President Dickinson's objection was that a man who could not rule his own family could not govern a college, and Rush frequently charged that Dr. Nisbet was too much under family influence.

Dr. Nisbet gave no countenance to the hopes held out by Armstrong that he could return to the principalship. On the contrary, he wrote Rush twice in December, once that he was still as bad as ever, and again he complained of "want of hearing, memory and cheerfulness."

On January 9, however, he wrote Rush again in very different spirits: "I acknowledge that the cold weather has been of use to me, tho I dreaded its approach, and though

my complaints are not quite gone off, I am much better than when I wrote you last. The good people here, whose kindness I can never requite, continue to urge me to stay among them, not considering, that since my resignation, it is quite optional to the Trustees to restore me, or not, on the former terms. . . . I have now almost recovered my health, and have hopes of being able to do something before I die." He thus suggests his own willingness to remain in Carlisle. On January 30 he writes again, "I informed you in the former letter of the recovery of my health. I have received no answer to that as yet. . . . My affairs are in the greatest uncertainty."

This "uncertainty" had abundant ground. He was willing to stay, did not know whether the trustees would reelect him in May, nor, if they did elect him, did he know whether it would be at the same salary. If reelected he might lose both salary for the six months of his sickness and the promised funds for the return of himself and family to Scotland. His fears in this were realized. He got neither. He knew that there were influences at work to elect a Principal in May at a lower salary than that for which he had originally come. He feared that this might be made to apply to him. His comments on this possibly are interesting as bearing on his own case, and as evidence of cost of living in America. "I was drawn from an honorable and secure station . . . on the faith of men of whom I had the most favorable opinion, and I am now in danger of having the salary lowered. . . . I wanted only to live as I did formerly, and, as I have found by long experience and exact calculation that the necessaries of life cost more than twice as much here as in Scotland, it would be greatly distressing to my family to have less support than what was stipulated in the first bargain. I have been used from my infancy to frugal living, and expected no other here, but I think it would be hard to reduce me below my former situation." He closes the letter, "I beg your answer and best advice as soon as possible."

Rush's "answer and best advice" came promptly, and

suggested reduction of salary to about \$800 instead of the original £250 sterling, or about \$1200. Dr. Nisbet's reply told how unjust, even dishonest, he thought such a reduction would be. Apparently he wrote others on the subject, and his complaints reached the ears of Rush. Rush unbosoms himself on the subject in a letter to Montgomery: "Dr. Nisbet had no object in coming to America, and, I believe, has no object in staying but salary. He will make no sacrifices to atone for the injury he has done our College. . . . In his first letter I ever got from him after he went to Carlisle . . . before his sickness he complained very indelicately of the low state of our funds. . . . I blush for his littleness and ingratitude in this business and wish only to forget and forgive it. . . . I have advised him to be content with the £300 [Pennsylvania money] the first year . . . for this advice he has branded me in the most indecent manner in his letters to his skunk friends in Philadelphia. I have many more things to say . . . but I forbear." He then says that the College would have delightful prospects "could we hope that our Principal would possess the disinterested benevolence, the active public spirit, the fortitude in duty of a Dr. Finely, a Dr. Allison, a Mr. Bream or a Mr. Davis. The high priest of the temple of science and religion pausing at the altar and declaring that he would not . . . even kindle a fire, till his wages for performing the sacred duty were paid. . . . What a melancholy sight. The clergy in this country have not so learned Christ."

February 2, three days after his second letter to Rush, Dr. Nisbet wrote to Armstrong, Acting President of the Board, proposing to return to the College. He writes:

Carlisle, February 2, 1786

Sir: Having now, by the Divine Goodness, recovered my health, and retaining the same affection to this country which led me to abandon my native soil, I beg the favor that you would communicate to the trustees this unexpected change in my situation. Could I have hoped for such a thing in October last, this trouble would have been unnecessary, but at that time having nothing but death or incompetency in view, and wishing

only to convey my family back to their relations, I was advised to resign my charge, that the trustees might proceed to the election of a successor. As this has not been done, my present situation, their own feelings, and the earnestness with which they invited me formerly, will suggest to them what is fit to be done on this occasion. Begging that you would take the earliest opportunity of communicating this to the trustees, I am, with sincere esteem,

Sir, Your very humble servant,

CHAS. NISBET

John Armstrong, Esq., President pro tempore,
of The Board of Trustees of Dickinson College, Carlisle

Eight days later Armstrong wrote an official letter to the trustees as follows:

Carlisle, 10th Feb., 1786

Gentlemen: It is with pleasure you are hereby informed of Doctor Nisbet's late and tedious illness—and that his intentions of returning to Scotland are changed with the state of his health.

He is now willing to remain with us, and very desirous of pursuing the great object which led him from his native country, provided he is reinstated in his former charge, but apprehends there is an obvious hardship in waiting the long interval until the meeting of our Board, and even then a possibility that he *may not be reëlected*.

In order to remove this difficulty as far as in our power, seven or eight of the trustees being occasionally in town, we had a conference on the subject, which issued in the desire of those present, That the Dr. should commit his wishes to writing, and a request that I should communicate them (as now enclosed) to as many of the Trustees as I possibly could; in order to procure their sentiments as *individuals*, either for or against his reëlection, that the Dr. may have some ground of confidence, or line of direction to his conduct, until the meeting of the Board in May next. It is also proper to inform you gentlemen that in the conference mentioned above, there was not a dissenting voice to the reappointment of Dr. Nisbet, but on the contrary, very explicit declarations in his favour, alleging that no principle either of honor, or good policy, could justify a refusal of it. Two of the number then present, it's true, hesitated at giving the former salary, being in their opinion more than our funds would allow, others opposed that idea, referring the matter as it must be to the decision of the Board. On this occasion, Gentlemen, your intimations will be expected, as early as may be convenient,

By your very respectful and most humble servant,

JOHN ARMSTRONG

Dr. Nisbet now frequently visits the College, much to the satisfaction of the professors, students and trustees at this place, and I may warrant-

ably add, every other person of discernment, who have gained any acquaintance of the Doctor, since his recovery.

Nisbet's letters resulted in a conference of the local trustees, and Armstrong's letter gives its result. The *Carlisle Gazette* of February 9 publishes the facts in the case:

"We can now assure the public . . . that the Doctor's health and strength is nearly fully restored; that he has proposed to accept of his first appointment, provided the board . . . should re-elect him, of which there can be no doubt. . . . The Trustees in and near Carlisle having already given their unanimous suffrages in his favor." Seven weeks later a Latin poem appeared in the *Gazette*. "In Carolum Nisbet, Sacrosanctae Theologiae Doctorem Ex gravi Morbo convalescentem—Carleoli tertio Kal, Aprilis, 1786."

It thus became clear that while trustees at a distance, led by Rush, were generally opposed to Nisbet's reëlection, trustees of Carlisle and vicinity, who might be supposed to know him best, under the lead of the "Old General" Armstrong, were apparently all in his favor. Dr. Black, of Gettysburg, was not certain what should be done, but in view of the facts of the case he writes Rush: "You inform me that President Dickinson is against the reëlection of Nisbet . . . also, . . . that this is your judgment. . . . General Armstrong and his party . . . are now fixed on Dr. Nisbet, whilst Col. Montgomery, etc., are determined for Dr. Davidson. In this chaos . . . unite or die . . . let us labor to come to some agreement." And they did, for on "Tuesday, 9th May, 1786, the Board met, pursuant to adjournment," with a bare quorum of nine. On the following day they elected "a principal by ballot, when it appeared that the Rev. Dr. Charles Nisbet was unanimously elected principal of Dickinson College." A letter from President Dickinson was read and referred to a committee, which reported the next day in a letter to Dickinson, saying in part, "We feel a peculiar satisfaction in observing the perfect correspondence of your sentiment with a measure unanimously adopted by us, that is, the election of Dr. Nisbet to the office of Principal of Dickinson College."

The election of Nisbet was unanimous, but the old salary was not voted unanimously. King, who had wanted somebody at less salary, reported to Rush two weeks after the meeting, "A few of us labored to have the salary of the Principal voted in Pennsylvania currency and settled at £400, but we could not prevail." Nisbet's salary, then, was to be £250 sterling, about \$1,200. The Pennsylvania pound was worth \$2.67, and King's proposal would have made the salary nearly \$1,075, and the proposal of Rush to Nisbet of £300, about \$800.

This important trustees' meeting of May, 1786, and the earlier one of June, 1785, had some unusual features to which their successors today are not subjected, and to which they would probably object. At the 1785 meeting, we learn from the *Gazette*, "An Oration in Praise of Mathematics was delivered before the Trustees of Dickinson College by Jno. Montgomery, Jr. The dialogue between Philemon and Eugenia . . . was then spoken by Jno. Montgomery, Jr., and Robert Duncan." Some students delivered orations before the trustees at 5 P.M. on the afternoon of their second day's meeting in May, 1786.

Rush's conduct following this reëlection is most interesting. It is revealed in various letters to Montgomery, to whom he continued to write with perfect freedom. On June 18 he writes, "Is it peculiar to Scotchmen and heads of colleges to be sordid and arbitrary? Smith . . . Ewing . . . Witherspoon and Nisbet alike in these two qualities." He then says that he is reconciled with Nisbet, and proceeds: "I have forgiven him all the unkind, unjust and cruel charges he has brought against me. . . . I have advised the Dr. to be more cautious in complaining of the Trustees and of the 'sickly' and 'dirty' town of Carlisle." July 1 he says "All *has* ended well," but three weeks later, "Glad that Dr. N. gives so much satisfaction and is so popular among you. . . . His wit gives him pain while it is confined, and everybody pain when it is discharged." At the same time he complains that English and Irish papers are full of Nisbet's complaints of "having been deceived . . . found neither students nor

funds at our college and that he was particularly displeased with the town of Carlisle. If he should live an 100 years, he can never atone for the mischief he has done our College."

Rush had objected to the salary given Nisbet on his reelection, and complained that those who had voted it were doing nothing to provide it, leaving that largely to him; and this was true. Some tactful consideration for Rush at this time on the part of Nisbet might possibly have brought about better relations. Nisbet, however, was not tactful. Apparently he continued to give his opinion of Rush. Nothing else seems to explain an extremely bitter letter of Rush to Montgomery in August, 1786, following Nisbet's second election: "He will know the value of my friendship better when he feels the deficiency of his salary occasioned by his own folly, for as I had no vote in his second appointment, I shall not think myself bound to concur in supporting him. I consider myself as neglected and insulted by *all* the trustees in Carlisle who have tamely witnessed his abuse and calumnies circulated against me. I have not deserved this from your hands. But I have a remedy in store. If you do not oblige him to contradict in all his letters the falsehoods he has told of me before the next meeting of the Board, I shall certainly send in my resignation, and dissolve all connection with the College forever. You may show this declaration and the whole of this letter to all the Trustees in Carlisle. I have bore and forborne long. But all in vain—his heart cannot be softened by favors, nor subdued by Friendship. To prevent a repetition of his insolence to me (for in his last letter he calls me indirectly a rogue and a traitor), you may inform him that I will receive no letter from him now which you or some of the trustees do not first see. If it is sent to me without this formality, I shall send it back unopened."

Other sorrowful correspondence, including a long letter from Gen. Armstrong to Dr. Rush, ensued, but cordial relations were never reëstablished.

Thus Dr. Nisbet really began, in May, 1786, the eighteen years of service that ended with his death in 1804.

CHARLES NISBET, THE MAN

CHARLES NISBET on July 5, 1785, took the required oath of office as Principal of Dickinson College, but only after ten trying months of sickness, resignation, and general uncertainty was it finally settled that he was to occupy the office. At the close of the story of these ten months, and as he is about to begin his work, it seems proper to attempt some estimate of the man.

Dickinson, Rush, and Nisbet were the prominent figures of the early college life. Dickinson's character and life-story are of record in the history of his country, which he served so well. Dr. Rush has been freely discussed; his fame appears in the chronicles of the medical profession he so greatly adorned. Nisbet, on the other hand, though possibly equally outstanding in many ways, did his work in a less conspicuous field and one little regarded in his time. He is therefore less widely known.

What manner of man was Charles Nisbet? He passed away over a century and a quarter ago, leaving comparatively few sources from which his real portrait may be drawn. He published practically nothing and refused to allow others to publish for him. Even his private papers have disappeared. His only biography, by his old pupil, Samuel Miller, appeared thirty-six years after his death, and Miller complained that even then most of the personal data had been lost. Since Dr. Miller's life of Nisbet was written, some little new material has been found, which adds only a few life touches to the portrait.

Charles Nisbet was born in Haddington, Scotland, January 21, 1736, of parents able to give him no educational advantages beyond those of the local schools. When only sixteen years of age, however, he entered the University of Edinburgh, graduating in 1754, and then spent six years in Divinity Hall preparing for the ministry. All the expenses of these eight years he met by services of various kinds,

especially tutoring and editorial work. He then became pastor of a Glasgow church, whose people failed to keep their agreement to furnish him a house, as he was unmarried. At the end of two years he accepted a call elsewhere, and in his farewell sermon gave quiet evidence of his later well-known wit, preaching from the text "And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him." This new call was to go to Montrose as assistant to an aged incumbent, and came to him on the recommendation of a distinguished pastor of Glasgow, who called him the ablest preacher he knew. He continued as assistant till the death of his senior in 1773, when he became pastor in charge. Here he seemed to have the prospect of a long career of useful service to a devoted people, for, on his leaving for America, they held his place open for him until they thought there was no longer any hope of his returning. His people were loyal to him. He often expressed sympathy for the American Colonies in their struggle for independence, and this sympathy doubtless influenced Rush and other trustees of the College to call him to be their Principal. As has been detailed, he hesitated for a time, and the wonder is that he accepted at all. It may be guessed that the happy circumstances of Witherspoon, his old friend, then for years President of Princeton, and his high position in both church and state, had something to do with his final decision to accept.

His reputation for scholarship in Scotland was of the highest. When but thirty-one years old he was thought of by Dr. Witherspoon "as the person of all my acquaintance the fittest for that office," the presidency of Princeton College. Such was his reputation for learning that he was known as "the walking library." He had many friends in the best literary circles, as also among the Scotch nobility, and their letters to him in Carlisle, even to the end of his life, show how strong a hold he had upon them. His learning, wit, and social talent made him not only a welcome member in any cultured circle, but one eagerly sought.

On his death, twenty years after he had left Scotland, one of his old friends there wrote his impressions of him after the lapse of these years. This letter of his Scotch contemporary, possibly Charles Wilson, of Edinburgh, careful and discriminating, makes clear the abiding character of his reputation. He writes that as a student in the theological class Nisbet "was an excellent Latin scholar . . . as much at his ease in Latin as in English. . . . His command of Latin . . . suggests to me the mention of his astonishing memory. In this faculty he exceeded all men that I ever knew. A son of mine had returned from . . . the University. . . . He asked the boy what he was reading. He told him such a book of Homer. The Doctor then began and recited many lines of that book. . . . I asked him how it was possible. . . . He replied that he did not well know; that he had read them and they stuck. He assured me that he could once have repeated the whole *Æneid* and Young's *Night Thoughts*." Such a letter from an old friend finds support in like statements of distinguished and credible witnesses on this side the sea.

Dr. Ashbel Green, President of Princeton, says "Dr. Nisbet was, beyond comparison, a man of the most learning that I have ever personally known. . . . It discovered itself in his conversation and letters, but without anything like intentional display. . . . He was skilled in Hebrew . . . Chaldee, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, German and probably Erse. . . . With the ancient classics and with the modern languages I have mentioned his familiarity was great—in each he had read a considerable portion of the best authors. When he left Europe he was supposed to be among the best Greek scholars it contained. . . . But he was not merely a linguist. There was scarcely a subject or topic in any department of liberal knowledge . . . with which he was not acquainted. . . . In memory and wit I always regarded him as a prodigy. . . . I never myself have known an individual that could pretend to be his equal (in memory). Everything that he had read, heard or seen seemed to be immovably fixed in his mind, and to be ready for his use,

(even) the incidents in the newspapers of the day, and in other ephemeral publications that fell under his notice, he never forgot. . . . His wit . . . seemed to be instinctive, and to gush out, almost involuntarily, on all occasions." Dr. Green attended a General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Carlisle in 1792 and was the dinner guest of Dr. Nisbet. Dr. Green writes that at the close of the dinner "the Doctor indulged his witty and satirical vein beyond anything I had before witnessed. At other times it had broken out by flashes, with distinct intermissions, but it now blazed forth in a coruscation with only fitful abatements for more than an hour. He was a man of as much genuine integrity as I have ever known. . . . He abhorred and denounced . . . all hypocrisy and all disguise. His own sentiments and feelings he disclosed with the simplicity of a child. Had he been more reserved, perhaps he would have been more happy; but he had no talent for concealment."

Matthew Brown graduated from Dickinson College in 1794, received honorary degrees from Princeton and Hamilton Colleges, and in 1806 became the first president of Washington College at Washington, Pennsylvania. From 1822 to 1845 he was president of Jefferson College at Canonsburg, Pennsylvania. During the preparation of Dr. Miller's life of Nisbet, Dr. Brown, in 1840, forty-six years after his graduation, wrote for Miller an estimate of his old college president. This letter of Dr. Brown, because of his long connection with Dr. Nisbet as well as for the contents of the letter itself, follows in large part.

Canonsburg, June 29, 1840

. . . Dr. Nisbet was certainly a very extraordinary man. He appeared to have read and studied everything, and to have forgotten nothing. He seemed at home on every subject; to be familiar with all distinguished writers, ancient and modern; and to be extensively and accurately informed on every department of literature. He was master of at least twelve different languages, and could write and converse in most of them with ease and fluency. In Latin particularly he could converse and write with great facility and elegance. As President of the College, when present at the recitations or examinations of the different classes, he appeared per-

fectly familiar with every department—mathematics, the natural sciences, and languages, as well as his own peculiar department. He was so perfectly familiar with the Latin and Greek classics usually studied in College, that without book, he could hear a recitation and correct the slightest error. He appeared to have the whole committed to memory. The power of his memory was altogether extraordinary. "The Task," a favourite poem with him, he was said to have committed to memory perfectly by two readings. He could quote and repeat, with a familiarity truly wonderful, most of the great poets, Latin, Greek and English.

In theology and the sacred Scriptures his knowledge was extensive and profound. When I commenced the study of theology under his care, he directed me to read and study the Scriptures, at first "without note or comment"; and when any difficulty occurred, to note the passage and present it to him, at the time appointed for meeting him. The moment he took the paper in his hand he seemed to anticipate the whole difficulty, referred at once to the connection, and commonly repeated literally, and with the utmost readiness, the whole context; and was prepared to throw the most satisfactory light upon it. . . .

After I became familiar with his Scotch dialect and tone, I was delighted with him as a preacher. There was, as might have been expected, in his discourse a rich fund of thought expressed with peculiar vivacity and force of language; and when exposing error and vice, accompanied with a vein of satire for which he was so remarkable. His sermons, you know, were not written; but they were very systematic, and always well arranged. He had a singular command of that exhaustless fund of ideas with which his mind was stored. When I heard him in Carlisle, he seemed to limit himself exactly to an hour, in every discourse, by the watch. But this limitation of himself to the hour did not seem to destroy or even to affect, the proportion or harmony of the different parts of his sermons.

His plan of instruction in college was by lectures, which the classes were expected to write in full. He delivered them with so much deliberation and with such pauses, that, after some practice, we were able to take down the whole. I have a full copy of all his lectures taken from his lips as he delivered them. There were, however, few classes, all the members of which would consent to sustain the labour of doing this. His lectures were thought by some to be too voluminous; but they were exceedingly rich, and excellent in their kind. Besides a thorough and philosophical investigation of his subject, it was always illustrated by appropriate anecdotes, characterized by that wit and vivacity for which he was so distinguished. He seldom finished a lecture without some exhilarating anecdote, and some brilliant flashes of wit and humor, electrifying the whole class.

It had been often alleged that men who are remarkable for memory and wit, are commonly deficient in judgment and the power of close reasoning and investigation. This remark, which has almost passed into

a maxim, was not exemplified in the case of Dr. Nisbet. His lectures on metaphysics, on mental philosophy, and on the most difficult subjects in theology, exhibit a mind capable of the closest reasoning, and the most discriminating and profound investigation, whilst at the same time his lucid style, and striking illustrations throw an interest around those subjects which are usually considered as dry and unattractive.

And here I cannot forbear to give a little specimen of what I mean, extracted from one of his lectures on logic. After treating on several sorts of syllogism and modes of argumentation, he added:

“Besides all the modes of argumentation already mentioned, there is another more ancient and much more in use, than any of the rest. This is commonly called the *argumentum baculinum*, or club argument, and consists in using force in bringing others over to our opinion. But all other methods of reasoning ought to be tried before this is used; yet in all governments this mode is absolutely necessary for supporting the honour of the laws; and indeed all government is only a jest without it. But it is not only the nerve of authority, but the soul of war. Whence Louis the 14th caused this inscription to be engraved on his cannon— ‘*Ultima ratio regum.*’ There are some men of a nature so stupid that this is the only mode of reasoning that has any weight with them; and others are so stubborn that even this mode of reasoning cannot change their opinion; but it has this convenient quality that, when it is vigorously applied, it either silences or convinces. It has the same property as the dilemma, viz. that it is apt to be retorted; and if the person who uses it, has not a force superior to his respondent, he runs the risk of being confuted; because this mode of reasoning is of all others the most infectious, and apt to be caught by the respondent, the moment that it is used against him, which ought to make young men very cautious in the use of this argument, lest they give their respondent an opportunity of refuting them. But the most warrantable and safe use of this mode of argumentation is when one acts as a respondent; and this is the only justifiable use of it in private life. There is no mode of argument in which mankind are more liable to be licentious and disputatious. Young men in particular are very prone to the use of it, though generally forbidden by their teacher; and, indeed, they ought not to be allowed the use of it until they are acquainted with the rules of logic, so as to know its proper place, and the cases in which it ought to be used. Of all modes of reasoning this is, undoubtedly, the most generally used. Hence all history is full of it; on which account it may be reckoned surprising that Aristotle has said nothing about it in his *Organon*; and it was probably owing to this omission that his pupil, Alexander the Great, was so licentious in the use of it.

“It is remarkable that although, in the common mode of syllogistic disputation, there is nothing so difficult as how to find a good middle term, on the contrary, in this way of disputation, there is nothing so easy. Almost everything has been used as a middle term in this method of

disputation. Hence Virgil says, *Furor arma ministrat*, because a stone, a stick, a firebrand, or almost anything within one's reach, may be used as a middle term. Schoolmasters make use of their ferula for this purpose, and boys of their fists; and Horace tells us that the Thracians made use of their drinking cups by way of middle terms; and the moderns have imitated their example by using bottles and glasses for the same purpose. As it is necessary in disputation that the same person should not at once act as opponent and respondent, this gave rise to the shield, the helmet, and the coat of mail, which served the same purpose to the disputant as the denial of any of the premises in ordinary logic, the effect of which is to render the argument on the other side useless. But since the invention of gunpowder, a new kind of middle term has been introduced, which renders defensive armour entirely useless. But the *argumentum baculinum* is safest in the hands of the civil magistrates, because private persons are apt to use it with indiscretion. Young men ought not to be licentious in the use of any sort of argument; but they ought to be especially cautious in the use of the *argumentum baculinum*.

"The moderns have introduced into their logic, an argument unknown to the ancients called *argumentum ad crumenam*, i. e. an argument addressed to the purse, which however fashionable, has nothing to recommend it, because it has no tendency to produce conviction. It may embarrass a poor respondent, but cannot convince his understanding. Besides this mode may also be retorted.

"Another mode of argument is the *argumentum juratorium*, or attempting to demonstrate a conclusion by oaths, instead of premises and middle terms. This kind does not admit of any rule, being really a breach of all rules, and commonly as unfriendly to truth as it is contrary to delicacy and propriety. Besides, swearing in common conversation has been observed to be almost inseparably connected with lying; so that one may pick the lies out of any mixed discourse, without any other guide than the oaths by which they were accompanied. The fact is, when a man is conscious that he is speaking the truth, he will never suspect that it needs to be confirmed by an oath; whereas, when he knows that he is telling a lie, it is more than probable that he will swear to it. . . ."

A third witness of those who knew Dr. Nisbet personally is Dr. Miller, his biographer, some of whose statements in estimate of his old preceptor seem necessary; but since Dr. Miller wrote in the third person as "he" or "the writer," his statements are given in the first person, as "I," but without other liberties of change. Dr. Miller was a special student of theology under Dr. Nisbet, and became one of the first faculty in the Princeton School of Theology.

Late in 1791, soon after the death of his father in Dover, Delaware, Miller says:

I repaired to Carlisle and found Dr. Nisbet in good health and spirits, and busily engaged in his labours as the head of Dickinson College, the winter session of which had, a few weeks before, commenced. I had never until then seen the eminent man whose instruction I sought. I expected (boy-like) to find so much learning connected with reserved and formal, if not repulsive, manners; but was agreeably surprised to find Dr. Nisbet as affable, as easy of access, as simple and unostentatious in his manners, and as attractive in all the intercourse of social life, as any man I had ever seen . . . after the first hour [he] placed me as much at my ease as if I had been hanging on the lips of that parent according to the flesh whose loss I had been recently called to mourn. . . . My practice, in ordinary cases, was regularly, every evening, to sit with him in his domestic circle two or three hours. And on whatever subject I might desire information. . . I had but to propose the topic and suggest queries to draw forth everything that I wished. . . . [His words] presented a constant flow of rich amusement and information, and yet so entirely free from ostentation, dogmatism, or pedantry, that every listener was at once instructed, entertained and gratified. Probably no man on this side of the Atlantic ever brought into the social circle, such diversified and ample stores of erudition; such an extraordinary knowledge of men and books and opinions; such an amazing fund of rare and racy anecdotes; and all poured out with so much unstudied simplicity, with such constant flashes of wit and humour, and with such a peculiar mixture of satire and good nature, as kept every company, whether young or old, hanging upon his lips, and doing constant homage to his wonderful acquirements.

Of Nisbet's teaching Miller says: "Every member of the theological class should commit to writing the whole of each lecture, as it fell from his lips, and this was regarded with aversion and deemed a drudgery too severe to be pursued through several years. . . . The lecturer well knew that books were extremely scarce, especially in the western parts of our country; and that, therefore, the possession of a complete system of theology, prepared with great care, would be a treasure of permanent and peculiar value."

Justice Hugh H. Brackenridge, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, was not only a distinguished jurist, but also an author of renown. He was a resident of Carlisle and a trustee of the College, 1803-1816, the first year of his

trusteeship being the last of the life and service of Dr. Nisbet to the College; and Brackenridge gave it as his judgment that Dr. Nisbet's information far surpassed that of any other man in this country or of any other age. While the extreme to which he went in the last part of his statement may somewhat discredit his testimony, the learning of Dr. Nisbet must have profoundly impressed the Justice. John Bannister Gibson, another Justice of the same Court and for twenty-four years its Chief Justice, a former student of Dr. Nisbet, of the Class of 1789, gave it as his opinion that as a scholar he had no superior in America.

In a letter of Rush to Montgomery shortly after Nisbet's arrival in America, he tells of a letter brought him by Nisbet from Scotland, in which is the following: "I follow Dr. Nisbet with solicitude across the ocean. Such another man you will not be able soon to select and carry from us. He is a moving library. He is a Greek and Latin scholar to whom we have few to compare. He is still more distinguished for his command of modern languages. His reading is extensive, his memory vigorous, his discernment quick, his judgment sound. In theology he is a sound Calvinist; in politics, a thorough Whig; at heart an American."

He was without question a great scholar, second probably to no man in America, a man of libraries and scholarly circles. His learning was the fruit of a good mind industriously applied from early youth and coupled with a phenomenal memory which let nothing slip. In ready wit he was unsurpassed; he was the life of almost any gathering of congenial spirits. Two stories illustrating this ready wit yet remain, or have been associated with his name as probably his. Miller's biography gives one of them, as a passage between Nisbet and his friend Witherspoon of Princeton. Nisbet complained to Witherspoon that he had an uncomfortable ringing in his head; whereupon Witherspoon replied that the head must be empty. Nisbet asked Witherspoon whether his head never rang, and on being answered in the negative, said, "That means that it is cracked." This story

has been reported also as though between Nisbet and one of the early professors of the College.

Another story current fifty years ago had as its background a meeting of the Presbytery, with Witherspoon in the chair. The usual tankard of beer was produced and was to be passed around, beginning with the chairman. The latter seemed to hold it too long to his lips, when Nisbet moved that the chair be not considered also the mouthpiece of the Presbytery. They were evidently the best of friends. The *United States Gazette* of June, 1791, records:

Witherspoon-Dill—married at Philadelphia, Penn., on Monday evening, the 30th ult. by Rev. Dr. Nisbet, President of Dickinson College, the Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon, President of Princeton College, to Mrs. Ann Dill, widow of Dr. Armstrong Dill, of York County, Penn., a lady of great beauty and merit.

The Dill family gave name to Dillsburg, York County.

In Scotland, Nisbet sympathized with the Colonies in their struggles and had doubtless made some enemies thereby. It could hardly have been otherwise, as he very frankly expressed his sentiments during the progress of the Revolutionary War. On one public occasion, when he seemed to approach the subject of the Revolution in an objectionable manner, the members of the Montrose town council, attending in a body, left the church, and as they left, Nisbet, pointing to their vacant seats, delivered as a parting shot, "The wicked flee when no man pursueth." A friend asked him to pray for the King and his ministers, and he replied, "Do I not pray for them every Sabbath?" "Yes," was the reply, "but as if they were the greatest culprits in all his Majesty's dominions." Consistently through all the years of the struggle of the Colonies for their rights, he was their friend, and favored the Whig policy of opposition to the successive measures of the British Government. After he had become a part of American life, however, all this was changed; he became a severe critic of the conditions under which he lived for nearly nineteen years. He had idealized

the struggle for liberty at long range, but after he came to grips with American institutions he revolted against their rawness. Chief Justice Taney calls him anti-Republican, and his recently discovered letters, now in the New York Library, show clearly that this was true.

Dr. Nisbet was happy the first month of his stay in America. Three weeks in the hospitable home of the distinguished and popular Dr. Rush in Philadelphia were followed by five days of travel ending on July 4 at Carlisle in an almost triumphal entry. Five miles out of Carlisle, at Boiling Springs, he was met by many of the citizens, and here they all dined under bowers of oaken boughs, likened by Nisbet to the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles. John Montgomery writes Rush two days later: "He was met there [at Boiling Springs] by near thirty ladies and above forty gentlemen. . . . The Doctor was highly delighted. He lodges with me. He is indeed a very agreeable man . . . is pleased with his students and their appearance. . . . P. S. The Doctor is just returned from the Public Works. [Here was to be his home.] He is in raptures with the place. He says it is the most beautiful and extensive prospect he ever saw. Indeed he is pleased with the place and everybody. Mrs. Nisbet is much delighted with her new habitation. . . . I am sure this place will be exceeding happy with the Doctor. He is a good man."

The idyllic character of this reception and the heartiness of the people in their welcome to the great scholar who had come among them, doubtless made a deep impression on the man they delighted thus to honor. Yesterday's feast under leafy bowers, however, is soon gone, and the silver-throated court-house bell rung in his honor becomes silent; the stern reality of the pioneer work before him and the drab realities of the once idealized democracy soon thrust themselves upon the sensitive scholar in his frontier home. He came to feel himself a stranger and an alien in the midst of the strange new people about him. His letters to his friend Charles Wilson, in Edinburgh, are full of comments on the conditions

of his Carlisle life, and quotations show only too well his critical attitude toward all his American surroundings.

His letters to Wilson, written with great frankness, show that he was not at home in America. He says in September, 1790: "I live alone, and neither pay nor receive visits," and again on August 19, 1791, "As I live very solitary here, a letter from Scotland is a great dish to me. . . . Selfishness greatly prevails here, so that few can be the better of professed friends. I regret my leaving Scotland with respect to myself, as I live here like a pelican in the wilderness. But I submit to it as a dispensation of Providence. None of the clergy visit me, and the prejudice and ignorance of my neighbors render them no company to me. . . . though not destitute of the comforts of life, yet almost quite destitute of the comforts of friendship and society. . . . We endeavor to be contented in the midst of disappointments and inconveniences. This life is a weary pilgrimage and full of troubles but there remaineth the rest for the people of God. The receipt of such letters is one of the chief enjoyments of life that an exile can expect."

We can imagine the situation of the finished scholar, little understanding virile frontier folk, and unable to make proper approach to good fellowship with them, and they in turn holding aloof from the man seeming to them out of touch or sympathy with them. So he wended his way from day to day to and from his house, admired by the citizens, probably revered for his character and the learning to which they were mostly strangers; and so was built up a wall of separation between him and them, because of which he suffered acutely. No wonder that in congenial company he developed "coruscations of wit," or that Rush, none too friendly, should write of a dinner at his home and say that Nisbet's "conversation was unusually interesting and brilliant, and his anecdotes full of original humor and satire." Under these circumstances, in college parlance, he was "making up conditions," was feeding his starved social nature.

With respect to religion and the church, so closely joined

in his thought, he was little better pleased, as shown by these same letters. In September, 1790, he writes, "We have no men of learning or taste, and of religious people fewest of all . . . highest degree of virtue and piety procure no respect to its owner. I often imagined that if the Apostle Paul had a congregation in America, he could not keep it six weeks without a miracle. . . . As to doctrines every one teaches what he pleases, and if he speaks loud enough and does not meddle with morality, his hearers will bear with him, at least till they have gotten three or four years in his debt, and then they will treat him like a dog. . . . The Methodists are making many converts. . . . They generally succeed most with the ignorant people, and many here are very ignorant. They have two Bishops, who are among their worst preachers and the best of them are indolent tradesmen or bankrupt farmers." A few years later, in 1797, he again gives vent to his feelings on the same subject. "But you entirely mistake the character of the people of this country, if you imagine that they desire to support gospel ministry or to see them independent. It is this that has divided all our citizens into two great parties, the 'anythingarians,' who hold all religions equally good, and the 'nothingarians,' who abhor all religions equally. And in such a division you may easily believe that the 'anythingarians,' having no fixed principles to rest on, must be put down by the 'nothingarians,' who are the great majority in this country. . . . Very little learning is required for making a minister in this country, and there are some seminaries which bring men from the plow, the wagon and the loom into the pulpit."

In the same critical tone he evidently wrote his wise old friend, the Countess Leven, of the religious conditions in America, for she replied that the conditions of which he complained existed in Scotland also. "You complain of preaching to a dead people. I wish I could tell you it would be different if you were here." The blunt Earl of Buchan writes him in December, 1790: "How could you expect the spawn of a highly civilized and corrupted nation could do

better? Were you in Scotland, or any part of Europe, do you think you would not discover all the same roguery, etc. Reënter into your own mind and renew your covenant to preach that gospel faithfully. So, here, Doctor, I present you with a Roland for your Oliver. Rest and be thankful."

No less bitterly does he gird at the people, their social organization and democratic government. "Everything here is on a dead level and there is no distinction except wealth, which few people possess here, though many live in luxury. I cannot hear of a man who is rich enough to pay his debts or to keep his engagements. . . . Our gentlemen are all of the first edition; few of them live in their father's house. In fact it would be impossible to conceive the country more weak and wretched. . . . I am not a friend to popular elections, and no man who has seen America can be a friend to them. . . . I cannot boast of many friends here not being a man of that sort that the people delight to honor. . . . In a republic the demagogue and rabble drivers are the only citizens that are represented or have any share in the government. . . . Knowledge is very rare in this country and has been the least of our importations. Where is the community so enlightened that the majority of it are wise men. . . . We are a weak, foolish and divided people. . . . Americans seem much more desirous that their affairs be managed by themselves than that they should be well managed. I think that the Divine Providence has a controversy with the United States and that neither their union nor their constitution will be lasting, as God is not owned in it. Perhaps it has already seen its best days."

He writes of the Government to his old friend, Dr. Witherspoon, of Princeton: "I have seen the plan of the Federal City [Washington], and agree that it resembles the New Jerusalem in one respect, for, as St. John testifies, that he saw no temple there, so I find no plan or place for a church in all that large draught. But I cannot add what he mentions in the next verse, as I believe that our people will be well enough contented with the light of Liberty and

Equality, together with that of French lanterns and Atheistical philosophy." After twelve years' residence in Carlisle, he wonders that it escapes the judgment of God! He writes a Philadelphia correspondent on the yellow-fever scourge: "I still consider it an extraordinary instance of the goodness of God to this worthless country that neither in 1793 nor this year (1797) did the infection extend itself beyond the limits of the city and suburbs."

Nisbet's statements on college and seminary conditions are equally critical, but may possibly be discounted somewhat because of his own experience with the trustees of Dickinson College. Of these he speaks not only frankly but severely, and with very good reason. He was almost as bitter, however, with respect to education in general, and unfairly judged them all, apparently by the standards of older countries. He wrote: "The seminaries of this country are upon the worst footing, owing to their being too often under the government of ignorant trustees. . . . I have more trouble with the old than with the young. The trustees are generally men of small acquaintance with letters . . . and can scarcely be made to understand their duties."

These somewhat lengthy extracts from Nisbet's statements are fair samples of his comments on men and things, and there appears no word of genuine praise for anything American in any of them. He seemed to have no sympathetic consciousness of the unfolding before him of the greatest national movement of modern times. He saw the evils about him—and they were many—but he never sensed the real trend of things, the painful birth travail of a great nation. He missed the real force of the movements about him, possibly in part because of his own fundamental character, certainly because of his previous training and associations. He was unsuited to life in a new and democratic community. So far as his happiness or even his comfort was concerned, the wrong man had come to the wrong country at the wrong time. It is doubtful, however, whether he could have been happy anywhere during the eighteenth century.

His attitude toward America is clearly stated in these letters; his estimate of other countries and of his century generally is fortunately stated with equal clearness in another letter. Samuel Miller, in December, 1800, wrote him that he proposed to preach a sermon on the passing of the old century and the coming of the new, and in seeking material for the sermon he asked Nisbet for his estimate of the period. Nisbet's immediate reply shows his wide reading and intimate acquaintance with the intellectual life and doings of the world, but it shows, too, that he finds in the century nothing good. The letter is profoundly pessimistic—there is nothing worthy of praise or even of approval. He writes:

Your design of preaching the funeral sermon of the 18th century is pious and rational. It is fit that you should celebrate the Mother that bore you; and her character is large and various enough to afford numerous topics of praise and blame. Perhaps the most distinguishing character of the age is the spirit of free inquiry . . . carried almost to madness . . . it teems with the most monstrous and misshapen productions; air-balloons, the Rights of Man, the Sovereignty of the People, are the productions of its dotage and decrepitude. The arts of destruction have been improved beyond the examples of former age. Fusillades, Royades, and massacres of six, seven or eight hundred men or women at a time have been among its chief discoveries. Its love of scepticism has only been equalled by its hardness of decision. . . . It is not shocked with the grossest contradictions. . . . And as old people are twice children, the present age in the progress of decrepitude is busy in vamping up old publications, and reviving old exploded errors, such as Atheism, Socinianism, and what seems the last stage of delirium, the indifference to all opinions in religion. Yet this is established by the constitution of the United States and in all our state constitutions. The equality of the opinions of one God, twenty gods, or no god, is affirmed in Mr. Jefferson's "Notes on Virginia," and seems to be becoming the established creed. By the way, I have just heard with sorrow that he has been chosen President of the United States, and Burr, vice-president. God grant us patience to endure their tyranny! . . . You must not forget some of the great "discoveries" . . . that the soul of man is material . . . that all men were originally beasts . . . that the people have a right to change every form of government every hour, if they please . . . that Christianity is an imposture . . . that the body of a naked prostitute was the supreme object of religious worship . . . that there was a Supreme Being . . . that the "sovereign people" were the

Supreme Being . . . that liberty and equality consist in an unconditional submission to the order of one Supreme Consul . . . that government, religion, morality, marriage and property are so many encroachments on the liberties of mankind, and that gratitude is a vice and not a virtue The Democrats of America have discovered that it is for the interest of Christianity to elect a president who is indifferent whether the people believe that there is one God or twenty gods, or no god at all. May not this century be denominated the age of discovery?

After referring to secessions from the Church, to revolutions in Europe and America, and to the increase in infidelity and atheism, he continues:

The murder of the kings of France and Sweden and the poisoning of an emperor and empress of Germany, are among the early triumphs of Liberty and Equality, though these things were reckoned crimes in former ages. An ignorance and contempt of antiquity, and a boundless rage for theory and experiment, has been one of the distinguishing features of this age; and though the rage for liberty and equality in France has been obliged to succumb into submission to one person, this circumstance has not in the least abated the same rage in America which may soon, perhaps, lead to a similar despotism, or, what is more probable, in subjection to the despot in France. This century is likely to expire in blood.

Nisbet then turns to the attacks of German rationalism on the accepted faith, and deplors the condition of religion in his time:

The most important of all subjects, to wit, the State of Orthodoxy and vital piety in the Church, I fear you will be obliged to represent it in the Eighteenth Century as everywhere declining and in most places awfully declining.

Few men could have thus summarized the literature and life of the eighteenth century, however mistaken his conclusions. His sharp comments on America have been excused on the ground that he was the victim of unnecessarily hard conditions, as he undoubtedly was, but this letter and others show that his spirit was critical, that he chose to dwell on the unfortunate aspects of the times and did not even suspect those other forces which were making for righteousness.

Certainly Dr. Nisbet was not much of an American, but no one can study his life without admiring him as scholar, preacher and educator, working under very hard conditions. His estimate of educational values, however, will not stand the test of modern standards. He is on record as thinking that education was the better as it had less of the modern and more of the ancient, and while he was master of the languages and cultures of his time, he counted them as secondary and regarded his mastery of the ancient languages and the culture of which they were a part as the substantial part of his equipment. It may be a question whether the training of his logical mind in the perfections of the classic tongues with all their niceties of detail and perfection of production may not have resulted in his habit of criticizing the ordinary conditions of life; whether he had not come thus to a position of intolerance of things falling below these ancient ideals. His life had been largely spent with the great literatures and movements of the past, and he was shaped thereby. In his maturity he failed to consider that those literatures on which he had fed were the best of times so distant that all their poor and petty contemporaries had long been discarded. Nisbet's standards and ideals were based on these ancient products of the march of the race, and he was impatient of things falling below them.

He was not the man for a pioneering task. "The wrong man has come to the wrong country." Nisbet was the man for a stable country and a fixed social order; but for a century and a half America was, above all, the arena of experiment in government and social order. The proverbial English habit of "mulling through" was in full swing all these years. What the democratic Colonies wished seemed too much liberty to the mother country; and what England offered, the Colonies would not accept. During these years, the Colonies, originally royal in their sentiments, had finally become democratic in all their philosophy of government, and responded to the French "Liberty and Equality" in a way that threatened even excess of democracy. So it was when

Nisbet came, and he was an aristocrat in all his fundamental feeling, though while in Scotland he had favored the Colonies. Theoretically and at a distance he was with them, but when he saw them at close range, his fundamental feelings and beliefs asserted themselves, and, as has already appeared, he could but jeer at the institutions under which he was to live. Chief Justice Taney, one of his early students, wrote late in life of his old college principal's railing at the apparent excesses of the democracy of the country, adding that they paid little attention to it, because of their regard for the man and his learning.

"The wrong man has come to the wrong country at the wrong time." The things distasteful to him at any time were at the flood in America when he came. He could have come at no time more unfortunate for himself. The Colonies were not of similar origin or purpose, and had come to some sort of union under the spur of dire necessity for the Revolution; but the war was over, and it was very doubtful whether they could unite in any "more perfect union." The struggle for this was at its height when Nisbet came, and he was to witness fierce political riots in the streets of Carlisle between the friends and enemies of the new Constitution before the question was settled. And even after apparent settlement, he was to see Washington with armed forces of the Union in Carlisle marching westward to suppress the Whisky Rebellion against the new Government. The states were at the same time all staggering under their loads of war debts. There was no stable currency, business was at a low ebb, and credit hardly existed.

Such was the man and such the hard conditions which faced him, and the wonder is that he stayed by his task and did so much, despite the hard conditions. He was, however, a sturdy Scotchman, and with only one wistful look toward home, shortly after his arrival, he set himself grimly to his task, and, despite the bitter discouragements which would have crushed a weaker man, achieved results of which any man might be proud. It is equally a cause for surprise that

the trustees of the College bore with him and endured his attacks upon them for so many years. It is much to their credit that they held his great learning in such honor that they tolerated the peculiarities of their chief so long as he lived, and genuinely mourned him when he died. Their forbearance was both creditable to them and vital to the College.

COLLEGE SITES AND EARLY BUILDINGS

BUILDING, faculty, and funds were the main subjects of Dr. Nisbet's sorrowful letter to Rush in July, 1785. In the same order, these three subjects will be treated here and in the following chapters.

March 30, 1773, Thomas Penn deeded to nine patentees, for grammar-school purposes, lot 219, in the plan of Carlisle. It was in size 240 by 60 feet, extending north and south from Pomfret Street to Liberty Alley. By the alley, this lot is nearly a block east of the Carlisle market-house. On the west side of the alley end of this lot, probably at once in 1773, the patentees built a two-story, two-room school-house, facing the alley. The College grew out of this Grammar School, and used its site for more than twenty years, from 1784 until the present West College was sufficiently advanced to be occupied in 1805. This grammar-school building had two rooms, but only one of them, not 20 feet square, was ready for use when Dr. Nisbet arrived. He naturally complained, as four teachers used it. The use of the alley front instead of that on Pomfret Street is probably explained by the fact that at the time the town of Carlisle was nearly all on that side of their lot, to the north, while to the south was yet largely open country.

Dr. Nisbet's first known report to the trustees, the following November, 1786, stressed the need for a building. There were forty boys in the Grammar School without any proper classification. "No proper place has yet been provided for teaching, so that if a great number of scholars had come up they would have been obliged to go home again. . . . The mean appearance, the small dimensions and dirty entrance to the building proposed, but not yet prepared . . . must create . . . prejudice against the College. . . . The activity and intelligence of a single person has provided at York a suitable accomodation, [and could not the Trustees]

do what a single private person has already accomplished?" There were twenty other students who "attend the Professor of Geography . . . as much as their attendance on other classes will permit, and have lately begun the study of Logic and Metaphysics as a preparation for that of Moral Philosophy. . . . The College is not in the way of increasing . . . the Academy at York and the Grammar School at Hagerstown both exceed it in number of students."

Not only a better school building was needed, but also better housing facilities for students, and if Dr. Nisbet's description of Carlisle may be trusted, it is probable that no satisfactory provision was possible, unless the "Works" became the college home. He writes Rush, "You know that this town is situated in a deep clay swamp, which is almost impassable for a great part of the year; that the houses are few, small and not likely to increase, by which means the students, who are excluded from the best houses, are obliged to lodge in small, narrow, and inconvenient apartments, unfit for study and unfriendly to their health; by which means they are not only crowded and kept from following their studies to advantage, but are exposed to low company and vicious habits, which often counteract the best moral instruction that their teachers can give them." The College cannot increase "if it is established in this dirty town, where students must wade thru' deep mud several times a day, at the risk of their health, and afterward be cooped up like pigs, in narrow apartments and mean houses. . . . In such a situation the College cannot increase. . . . Our present numbers are too high to find convenient lodging in so narrow a place. . . . There are pools [in the town] that could float a boat, and an open quarry into which a poor man fell and fractured his skull some years ago."

Principal Nisbet clung tenaciously to the hope Rush had held out to him in early letters that the College was to be located at the Works. He strenuously urged that they be secured, and feared that sinister motives prevented their purchase. He thought that it would be easy to secure

“buildings useless to Government and unoccupied, which with a little reparation might lodge as many private families as might board and lodge a number of students, much greater than we can expect, and at the same time produce a rent to the trustees, that would make a valuable addition to their funds. And I cannot believe that Government . . . would grudge to bestow on a needy seminary buildings which are useless to themselves, and mouldering into ruin for want of inhabitants. But unless the trustees were to do this, no other person could do it. I am afraid that what is supposed to be the Interest of the Town, is more in view at present, than the Interest of the College, tho I believe they think that both these are the same, which they are in effect, as the town would be benefited by the Increase of the College. But unless the Interest and conveniency of the students is secured, which it cannot be if they are fixed in the mud of the Town, few Students will trouble themselves to come to a place of so few conveniences, where they can neither study with profit, nor lodge with pleasure.” Early in his stay in Carlisle he writes Rush, “As to the inhabitants of the town, they seem to think it their interest that the Works should be under an unhealthy reputation, at the risk of their own dwellings. I mentioned to General Armstrong that I suspected that those people who keep boarders might be willing that the College should remain in its confined situation in town, for their own interest, but he told me that it would be dangerous to hint anything of the sort, but he did not pretend to deny the truth of it.”

It is possible that local Carlisle interest did prevent the success of efforts to secure this property for the College, but it is also probable that the inability of the College to pay for the property really prevented its purchase and the consequent location of the College at the Works.

Rush in his early correspondence with Nisbet in 1784 said they expected to secure the Works for the use of the College on reasonable terms. He had good reason for this statement. P. Howell, Chairman of a Congressional Committee, wrote

Rush on January 28, 1785, that the Committee would recommend to Congress the leasing of part of the Works to the trustees on reasonable rents for a term not exceeding ten years. John Penn, in a diary of his travels in 1788, speaks of the Works as "said to be granted by Congress to the Trustees of Dickinson College for twenty years," and then adds "tho' upon inquiry I find they are negotiating but have not concluded a bargain . . . the apartments of the Public Buildings are casually inhabited, and Dr. Nisbet, the head of the College, lives in one." These are doubtless some of the grounds for the impression that the College actually owned or occupied the property.

Certainly the trustees of the College frequently tried to secure the Works, and a committee was appointed at the first trustee meeting in Carlisle, April 6, 1784, "to negotiate with the proper parties and purchase the Public Works, erected near the Borough of Carlisle." Two months later, in June, 1784, following the resolution of Congress of February 7, probably unknown to them in April, a committee was instructed "to treat with the Commission of the Treasury about a lease of such parts of the Public Buildings near this town as are not wanted for the public stores, to ascertain the yearly rent, and report to the Board as soon as possible." Again, in May, 1787, it was "Resolved, that the members resident in town be a committee to confer with General Irvine on the subject of the Public Works." In the January following (1788) authority was given a committee to purchase the "buildings or such parts of them as the United States may at this time be disposed to sell." Private instructions were given that the committee might offer \$20,000 or even somewhat higher, and proportionately less for a "part of the said buildings."

On report made by General Irvine for the Committee on May 7, 1788, "The Board proceeded to the nomination of an appraiser who in conjunction with the appraiser appointed by the Board of Treasury should set a value on the Public Buildings, when Col. S. Postlethwaite was appointed."

Apparently nothing came of this, for in June, 1788, letters were ordered prepared to the Senators and Representatives in Congress, "requesting their influence and assistance in bringing that business again into a proper train of negotiation and transacting it fully in behalf of this Institution." This action was clearly in anticipation of the new National Congress which met in March of the next year, for there had never before been "Senators and Representatives in Congress." Finally, nine years later, in June, 1797, the Committee on Accounts was instructed to learn if the public buildings near Carlisle could be procured, and on what terms. No report from this Committee appears on the record, and the trustee minutes never again mention the subject, which had thus been before them in varying forms for over thirteen years.

The attitude of Rush toward the Works is interesting; perhaps it would be well to say attitudes, for his position changed almost with the seasons. He held out their purchase to Dr. Nisbet as easy and desirable in 1784, when urging him to come to this country. He wrote the trustees in May, 1785, that Congress had readily granted the use of part of the buildings (for Dr. Nisbet's residence); "and from some conversations I have since had with several members of that body, I have reason to think it would not have been much more difficult to have obtained the gift than the use of the buildings. I mention this that we may not lose sight of them as our own property in the course of two or three years. The lot on which the buildings are erected belongs to Mr. Wilson, one of our Board. He has declared his readiness to convey it to us upon a moderate ground rent forever. The sooner this business is transacted, the better, as it will facilitate all future negotiations with Congress upon the subject."

But on his return to Philadelphia from the August meeting of the Board in 1785, he writes Montgomery that a college building 100 by 60 feet could be built for £1,200, and that the Public Works would cost £4,000, adding, with his

accustomed business shrewdness, that the Works may be the center of a new town and lessen values in the old one. In October of the following year, 1786, he repeats his advice against their purchase, while a year later, in November, 1787, he advises to get them and thus put the "finishing stroke to the great fabric." In April following, 1788, he writes, "Let no time be wasted in purchasing part of the Public Buildings." Later in the year, however, he was opposed to "sinking their funds by purchasing at present the Public Works." At this time the Board was making a really serious effort to secure the Works, but the effort came to naught, and the committee of inquiry in 1797 closed the negotiations for them.

Dr. Nisbet always favored the Works, and once when he thought a plan to build elsewhere was imminent he wrote, "If the house which they propose to build is fit for a college, it is certain that their funds are utterly inadequate to it; if it is not fit for this purpose, the attempt must be hurtful to the interests of the seminary." This was written several years before any actual building began, but stated his unvarying judgment through all the discussions, which resulted finally in the purchase of the present site and the erection of a building thereon. He wrote again, on the subject of a new building: "I little imagined that a design was forming in my neighborhood, & without my knowledge, which may prove hurtful to my usefulness & the interests of this Seminary."

It is clear that the trustees never used the Works for college purposes, and that they used another site, the old grammar-school property on Liberty Alley. The first Carlisle meeting of the Board ordered a committee to learn what repairs were needed "to the School House in this Borough." This committee reported that few were needed. October 20, 1785, the local trustees were instructed to arrange for the erection of an addition to the grammar-school building, and they reported on May 9, 1786, that the cellar had been dug and walled. They were ordered to proceed

with the building, and to purchase the adjoining lot if it could be had at a reasonable price. Steps were taken at the same time to secure the temporary use of the court-house for such classes as the Faculty might judge necessary, until the completion of the addition to the old building. This additional building was of stone and cost \$583.62.

On the completion of the addition to their building, the trustees issued quite a statement. It appears in the *Gazette* of December 20, 1786. They announced that their building is "situated in a pleasant part of the town, and is sixty feet long and twenty-three broad. Three large rooms are furnished for the purpose of teaching; there is also a library room and an apartment for the physical apparatus."

The College had thus far been using a building belonging to the Grammar School. The trustees of the two, however, were largely the same, and were of one purpose, to continue the Grammar School and also to conduct a college, both to be under the college trustees. In furtherance of this common plan, in November, 1786, a committee of college trustees was appointed "to enforce the petition of the Patentees of the Grammar School . . . to the Assembly to enable them [the Patentees] to convey the lot and building to the Trustees of Dickinson College, by a petition of the Trustees to be signed by the President *pro tempore* on behalf of the Board to the General Assembly, praying them to grant the said petition of the Patentees." Their petition was granted by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania by the act of October 3, 1788, and the trustees of the College became the legal owners of the grammar-school site. They had already used it for over four years, as shown in the preamble to the Act of Assembly, granting them its legal ownership. Ten years later, June 25, 1798, the local trustees were "appointed to call upon the supervisors of the Borough for the purpose of procuring them to make a suitable and proper footway in the alley from the corner of the public square to the building now occupied as a college." The *Gazette*, two years before this, had spoken of the "want of a

good footway in this town," and had spoken of "flags— [as a possible] temporary relief."

Apart from trustees' records there are other interesting items of evidence. In his autobiography, Chief Justice Taney, of the Class of 1795, says that the college "building was a small and shabby one fronting on a dirty alley." John Penn, in his diary, already cited, says, "The present college or schoolhouse is a small patched-up building about sixty by fifteen feet." Some of these facts and others were presented by the late Judge Edward W. Biddle in "The Old College Lot," an address before the Hamilton Library Association of Carlisle, September 17, 1920, and his summary of the subject is subjoined. To understand this summary it is necessary to know that the old college building was burned by an incendiary fire in 1860, and the Carlisle School Board, the owners of the property, rebuilt on similar lines but increased the depth of the building. Judge Biddle said:

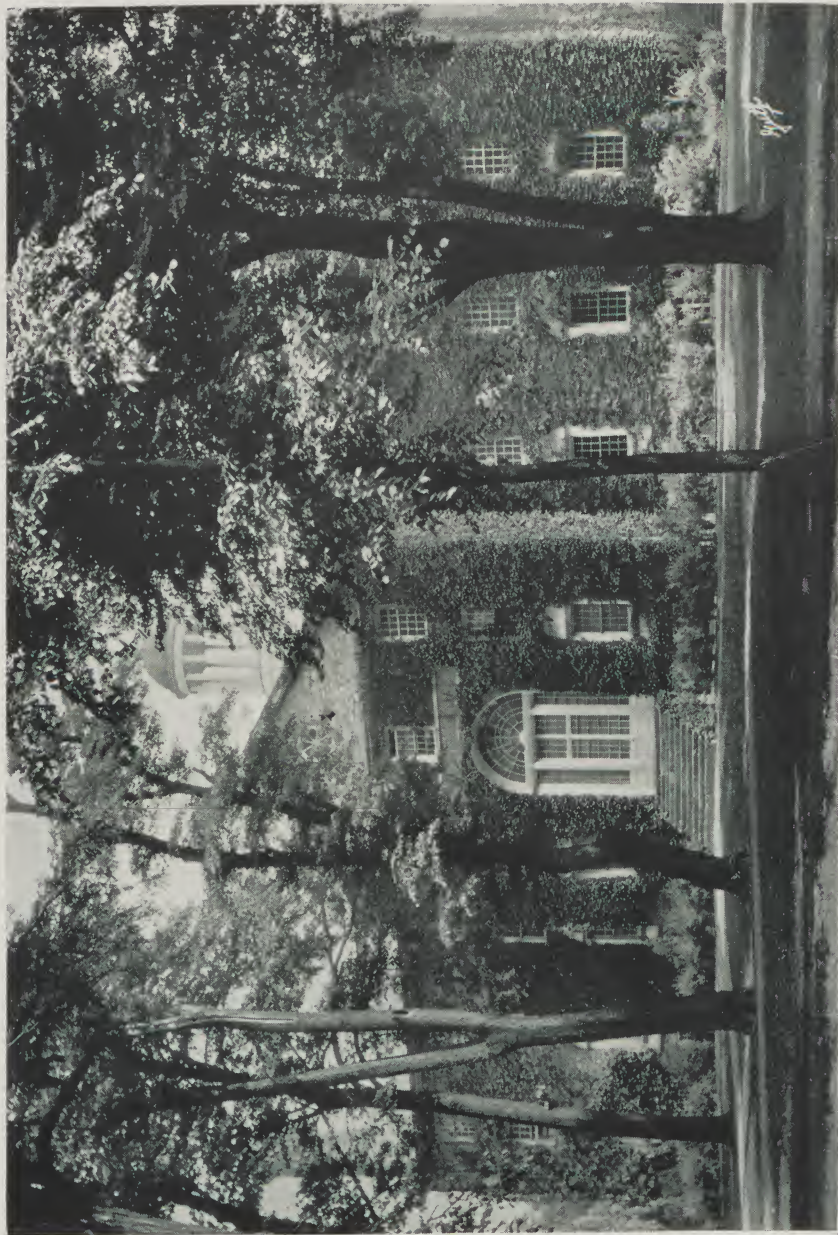
The preceding information supports several conclusions: 1st, the Old College was planned on the same design as the present schoolhouse, having on each floor two large rooms which were separated by hallways running north and south, except that one of the four rooms was divided into two. 2nd, it occupied exactly the same position on the lot. 3rd, it faced the alley and extended across the entire width of the lot. 4th, its depth was only 23 feet, as compared with the 35 foot depth of the present building. 5th, the west and east halves were built at different times, the former of brick and the latter of stone, and at a subsequent date both were covered with a coat of plaster which gave them a uniform appearance. 6th, the west end was erected in 1773 by the grantees named in the Penn deed, and the east end in 1786 by the Trustees of Dickinson College. 7th, the west end was used as a Grammar School under the management of the said grantees until 1784, when it was taken over by the College for the same purpose, and beginning in 1785 was used also for college work. 8th, under the limitation in the deed of March 3, 1773, the property would have reverted to the Penn heirs if it had ceased to be occupied as a Grammar School. 9th, by the Act of Assembly of October 3, 1788, an absolute title was vested in the College without condition or trust of any kind.

That the need for adequate space for the College early concerned the trustees appeared when a committee of seven, largely local men, was appointed by the trustees at their



OLDEST KNOWN PICTURE OF WEST COLLEGE

Reproduced "from a sketch by A. Brackenridge"—probably Alexander Brackenridge of the Class of 1809



WEST COLLEGE IN 1933

first Philadelphia meeting of 1783, "to make inquiry for a proper lot of not less than 12 acres in the Borough of Carlisle for erecting the College, having a particular attention to the health and pleasantness of the situation, to prepare a drawing of the College and to make an estimate of the expense of purchase and building." This Committee seems never to have made report, but frequent later resolutions of the Board show that the trustees always felt the need for better housing conditions for the College than the old grammar-school building in the "dirty alley." In the darkest periods of their financial distress they recognized this need, and voiced it as part of a series of resolutions of 1797 in which they beheld with "great concern the heavy debts with which the Institution is encumbered, and for the discharge of which no funds or adequate means appear to exist, except by the sale of the lands granted to the College by the commonwealth for its future endowment, but which they cannot recommend to be sold for that purpose." It was at this time that they made their final gesture toward the Works, and resolved "That every exertion ought to be used to procure a proper edifice for the reception of the students of Dickinson College, and that the Committee of Accounts be recommended to inquire if the Public Building near Carlisle could be procured for that purpose and on what terms."

Nothing came of the inquiries of this Committee, as has been seen, and in April, 1798, another committee was appointed to select "a proper site for the proposed building with a plan thereof and an estimate of the probable expense." This was the final committee on site. It reported, September following, and again in April, 1799. Then the trustees acted thus: "The Board having viewed the site chosen by the committee appointed to supervise the business as a site for the College, expressed their approbation of the same, and of all measures heretofore pursued by that committee."

The site thus chosen was the present college square, containing a little more than seven acres. The deed for it to the College is from the Penns, the purchase price being

\$151.50. The date of this deed is July 25, 1799, but the trustees took possession of the site at least three months before the deed was given. *Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette* published a notice on April 22, 1799: "Such Masons, Bricklayers and Carpenters, as are inclined to undertake building a House for Dickinson College at Carlisle, will be pleased to make proposals immediately to Mr. John Creigh.

"As several labourers are now at work, and materials are laying in, which cannot be done without money, the contributors are earnestly requested to pay at least a part of their subscription to Mr. Montgomery, the Treasurer."

September, 1798, the trustees "Resolved, That subscriptions be opened for the purpose of erecting a suitable building for a college." The Committee on Site reported later that "subscription had been obtained for this purpose to a considerable amount in Carlisle and its vicinity—that books had been delivered for procuring subscriptions in other parts." The *Gazette* notice given above obviously was a call for payment of at least part of any subscription thus made.

The *Gazette* of June 19, 1799, announces that "the Corner Stone of the New Edifice for Dickinson College will be laid at 10 o'clock A.M.," on the following day, the 20th. This announcement is followed by an appeal for help—"A considerable part of the materials for the building are already on the ground, and the greatest exertions are making by the Trustees for carrying it on without interruption, in hopes of having it covered in before winter. The friends of the institution who have not yet subscribed, are desired to embrace the earliest opportunity for this purpose; and those who have, are requested to pay in the whole or part of their subscription as soon as possible. Such as have subscribed to contribute their part in hawling or materials, are earnestly requested to do so, before the harvest comes on, when their attention will necessarily be called to their Farms.

"The Trustees of this Seminary, although they have no particular interest in its support and prosperity, more than most of their fellow-citizens, are devoting much of their

time, and contributing largely to this object. It is hoped, that the friends of science and religion will not leave them to struggle with a burthen which may become insupportable, but give their timely and friendly aid. There is certainly no place in this State, which appears more suitable, in point of pleasantness, health and other circumstances, for a great, flourishing and useful Seminary."

The *Gazette* of the following week [June 26, 1799] gives account of the laying of the corner-stone: "On Thursday last, the Corner-Stone of the New Edifice for Dickinson College was laid. The Trustees, Professors, and Students went in procession from the Old building, in which the classes are at present taught, to the ground allotted to the New. John Montgomery, Esq., one of the first founders and most zealous supporters of the Seminary, had the honour of laying the first stone of this building, and of expressing his hearty wish for its speedy completion, extensive utility and permanency. After which, James Hamilton, Esq., one of a committee of five, appointed to superintend and complete the building, addressed the large number of citizens assembled, in a manner suited to excite them to vigorous and united efforts in this laudable undertaking; expressing a hope that all parties will combine in that which is so manifestly for the general good,—and a wish that the rays of science may diverge from this centre to every part of the union, and be productive of the kindest influence on the morals and happiness of society. The whole of the citizens assembled united most cheerfully in re-echoing these sentiments. The ground chosen as the site of the College, is a beautiful elevated spot, on the west end of the town, where the building will appear to great advantage, and from which there is an extensive prospect of the valley and the mountains encircling it; and where the atmosphere is as pure and favourable to health, as perhaps in any part of the world. There will be a beautiful green in front of the building, which in time may furnish as delightful walks for the contemplate Student, as once did the celebrated groves of Academe."

Rush writes Montgomery on June 21, 1799, the day following the corner-stone laying, "It would have given me very great pleasure to have witnessed the laying of the corner-stone of our College. I would have blended a tear for the sufferings it has cost me with my prayers to Heaven for its usefulness. May many precious streams issue from it to make glad the cities of our God." Then his usual compliment to Nisbet: "I lament Dr. Nisbet's coldness and indifference to the undertaking. His eyes and his heart should never be idle till the building is completed. How great the difference, my friend, between a speculative and a practical Christian." Nisbet never favored the new building, but would have bought the Works.

The original endowment of the College was gathered largely by Rush in Philadelphia, but he seems to have taken little part in the new movement for a college building. The movement seems to have been largely local, with subscriptions in both money and materials or labor. Building resources were exhausted within a year, and in May, 1800, "The managers superintending the building of the college representing to the Board the necessity of procuring additional means to enable them to complete it. The Board appointed the following gentlemen to procure from the benevolent inhabitants residing in their respective districts subscriptions for this purpose; viz, Dr. Armstrong and Mr. Montgomery will take East Pennsboro and Allen townships. Mr. Creigh and Dr. McCoskry will collect in West Pennsboro and part of Dickinson, and Mr. McClure and Mr. Ege will attend to Middleton and Dickinson."

Their plans had much the appearance of the modern "drive," so successful in recent times, but their receipts did not meet their needs, and the following month, June, 1800, it was "Resolved, That it is expedient to raise on loan the sum of two thousand dollars for completing the edifice erected for the College," and this sum was borrowed on security of the invested funds of the College. This was a beginning of the dissipation of the invested funds so labori-

ously gathered in the early years. One year later, May, 1801, they went a step farther and "Resolved unanimously that it is expedient to raise the sum of two thousand dollars by sale of the public stock belonging to the Institution, for the purpose of completing the building intended for a College." The sale was made and the money secured. There is no further record as to how the plan was further financed, though it is highly probable that they called again upon their invested funds as needed.

The progress of the building was slow. The period of trustee borrowing on the credit of their funds, and their later actual sale during the building progress, was recognized by Montgomery, at least, as a very serious one for the College. He writes Rush in May, 1801, just before the actual sale of their stock to raise \$2,000, "This goes by the Rev. Dr. Charles Nisbet, a good old man. . . . Nothing further done to the new building since the roof was got on. . . . We are still indebted to the workmen and no means used to collect to pay them. Our Trustees are become exceeding inactive. . . . The Trustees are proposing to sell stock to finish the building, but I think they may as well [sell] the College at once. . . . We are falling in arrears nearly £200 yearly to the professors, and we owe them a heavy old debt besides." Two days later he writes that "the College is reduced to near 40 students." A year later, May, 1802, he writes, "Hope to have as much of our new building finished in the course of next month as will accomodate the schools." Rush replies in July, "Let us not despair of the object of our former hopes and present affections. . . . Let us finish our building and keep up the form of the College. All will end well. 'Bingham's porch' may wear away, but the ideas conceived on it by two of the trustees will have their full accomplishment, and Dickinson College will one day be the source of light and knowledge to the western part of the United States. A new college, like another phoenix, is rising out of the old college at Princeton. . . . The subscription . . . 24,000 dollars."

A resolution of 1801 showed that the building was well advanced: "Resolved, That the committee appointed to superintend the building of the new college be directed to finish in a suitable manner one of the rooms on the left-hand in the said building, as soon as can be, and that the same be appropriated for the use and purpose of an English School, and that they invite some competent person to take charge of the same."

Order had already been given to sell the old college building, but in October, 1801, the committee authorized to sell reported that no sale had been made on "consideration of the unprepared state of the new building for the reception of the students." At the same meeting a committee was instructed "to take suitable measures for the preservation of the New College from the rain and weather, and of the unwrought materials from loss and injury, and that for this purpose they be enjoined to finish one or more of the rooms, to glaze the windows and to procure some person to live in the lower apartment."

The delayed completion of the building was apparently used by enemies of the College to spread rumors that the enterprise would be abandoned, for the next month, November, 1801, a committee was appointed to publish widely "the determination of the Board to persist in the support of the College, and the prospect of having the new building in a state of readiness in the spring for the accomodation of the students." To the same end Nisbet published a card in the local papers denying the false and malicious rumor that he was to leave and that the College would close.

Their hope for the early completion of the building was not realized. It was, however, so far advanced in October, 1802, that action was taken "to procure some suitable person to dwell in some part of the new college for the purpose of preserving the same from any injury."

Three days after the next meeting of the Board there appeared, December 3, 1802, a lengthy statement on the College, part of which was that the trustees "have at great

expense and trouble nearly completed a large, elegant and commodious building in which the Classes are taught."

After this meeting of December 3, 1802, the Board adjourned till the last Monday in April, but disaster resulted in a special meeting, March 14, 1803. The record of this meeting was: "The new and elegant building lately erected by the trustees at the expense of many thousands dollars for the accomodation of the classes, and into which the students had just removed being distroyed by fire on . . . the . . . day . . . last . . . [Thursday, the third day of February last, 1803], a special meeting of the Board was called in consequence of that unfortunate accident, on the 14th of March, for the purpose of adopting immediate measures for the rebuilding." For once apparently they were united as they faced the disaster, and the *Gazette* said "all party spirit has disappeared."

The building burned on February 3, 1803. The following day Montgomery writes Rush an almost incoherent letter, though it is the best account of the disaster available. His letter follows in full—spelling, grammar and all:

we had got three rooms finished in the new Building and were occopayed by the student about 4 or 5 weeks very comfortably the Building was neerly finished had a grand appearence was ornamentale and elegend had twelve large apartments but as all things were uncertain in this world and that our joys and Comforts and not be compleat or parment that noble fine house was yesterday redusced to ashes by accidence occasioned by putting hot ashes in the seller about 11 o'clock a voulant snow storm from the west attended with a strong bold wind had blown sparks to shevaing or other stuff and not being discovered in time the whole Building was instantly in flames and thus my freind after all our trouble and exspence in erecting an elegend and comfortable house for Dickinson College our hopes were blasted in a few minutes my eies beheld the distroying flames with an achening that I need not tell you how feel on this meloncoley occasing you will know them by your owen feelings this has happened at an unfortunate time.

Rush's reply to this bears date of February 11, 1802, obviously misdated, the year before the fire. Rush writes, "My tears with yours ever since . . . the destruction of our

College by fire . . . a fresh instance . . . of abortive issues of the labors of my life. . . Shall we give up our College as lost? By no means! Go to the Legislature. 'Strike while the iron is hot.'" So ends the tragic story of one college building, making way for the better Old West.

The *Gazette's* two issues following the fire give a much fuller account of the burning of the building. The adjacent town was threatened by the flying embers driven by Montgomery's "strong bold wind." His "voulant snow storm" probably saved the town from a general conflagration. One other touch is added to emphasize the statement of Montgomery that their "hopes were blasted in a few minutes." Some students in attendance on Professor McCormick fled in such haste as to leave their school books to be destroyed.

The *Gazette* says that the building was of brick, and that the fire left standing only the east and west walls—"totally destroyed." According to the *Gazette* the building had been in use "some Months," but Montgomery reported "about 4 or 5 weeks." His statement is probably correct, as he was Acting President of the Board. This makes it likely that this first college building was first used about January 1, 1803, and was burned a little less than five weeks later.

The burning of the building gave Dr. Nisbet occasion to free his mind, and this he did shortly after the fire in a letter to a Pittsburgh friend. To this friend he writes of the trustees.

You must have heard that our new college was burnt to the ground, on Thursday the third current. We have been bothered by our Trustees to make our College conform to Princeton College. We have now attained a pretty near conformity to it, by having our building burnt down to the ground. [Princeton's building had recently burned.] But it could not stand, as it was founded in fraud and knavery. The Trustees in order to procure money for finishing this Building, sold the certificates that furnished the salaries of the Masters, cheated your humble servant out of 2610 dollars, the interest on my arrears, and diminished my yearly salary more than Eighty Pounds sterling. This awful visitation of Divine Providence has taken more from them than all that they have unjustly taken from me, tho' I do not think it will awaken them to do me justice.

I have been meditating on Jer. 22:13, "Woe unto him that buildeth his house in unrighteousness and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbor's services without wages, and giveth him not for his work." Compared with Amos 5:6, 7 But if I were to preach on any of these texts, and apply them as they well might (be) I would be reckoned as great a traitor and libeller as those who have spoken disrespectfully of the presidents' housekeeper, or differed in opinion from a French citizen.

The trustees at once instituted another building program, on a larger scale than before. March 14, 1803, six weeks after Montgomery's "strong bold wind" had caused the destruction of the new building of "grand appearance . . . ornamentale and elegant," the trustees

Ordered that Mr. McClure be appointed and Col. Alexander and Col. Postlethwaite be requested together with him to compose a committee to procure labourers immediately to dig clay in such ground of Mr. McClure as he shall point out for the purpose of making bricks; that they shall have power to employ some careful honest man who shall have the authority of an overseer to superintend the workman and do such other duty as these gentlemen may direct, such as receiving boards which the gentleman may contract for, etc.; and that on Thursday the 31st of March such Plans as may be procured before that time shall be laid before such citizens as have generously subscribed to rebuilding the College for their advice and approbation, together with estimates of the expence at which the plans may be executed, and that the gentlemen shall have all authority as to contracting for all materials as well for the building as enclosing the ground belonging to the trustees and on all occasions to call on the trustees for further authority and advice, and that their orders shall be paid by the Treasurer, signed by any two of them.

Ordered also that the money subscribed for rebuilding the College shall be solely appropriated to that purpose and shall be applied to no other purpose whatever, and that an application to any other account shall not be credited to the Treasurer in his acct. for money paid to him from the new subscriptions.

Ordered that the Treasurer by advertisement call on subscribers to pay 25 Per Cent of this subscription on or before the 1st of May next.

At a meeting three weeks later, April 6, 1803, the Building Committee was increased to seven members by the addition of "Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Creigh, and Mr. Steel . . . any four of them . . . to be a quorum to

transact business and give orders for money upon the Treasury." An appeal was also made to the Presbytery of Carlisle to secure aid from people within their bounds.

An advertisement appears in *Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette* of April 13, 1803: "The Trustees hereby inform the Public, that in consequence of the generous encouragement given by liberal donations for the rebuilding the College, they design to proceed immediately in laying the foundation of a New Building, on a larger scale than formerly—and also can announce to the Public, that, in the meantime in the old building, all parts of a liberal education are carried on as formerly." The old building had been sold for \$533 when the college work had been transferred to the new building late in 1802 or very early in 1803, but the purchaser yielded his legal rights to it till the second building was ready for use.

Promptly after the fire, then, and before any formal Board meeting, the community was canvassed for funds to rebuild, and the results of the canvass encouraged the trustees to proceed with the new building, to which they committed themselves at their first meeting. In addition to this local canvass for funds, it is known that subscriptions were sought in numerous distant communities. Local papers of the time, and a letter from Montgomery to Rush of June 26, 1803, give most of this unofficial information. This letter states, "We were surprized at the ill success that Doctor Nisbet met with at New York and Philadelphia and when we consider the former generous assistance we had from Baltimore and they have now given us upwards of one thousand dollars. Mr. Camble Hamilton obtained upwards of one thousand Dollars at the City of Washington and Mr. Camble [Campbell] has remitted eight hundred and fifty Dollars from Norfolk, he is still in that country and we expect by him a large sum when he returns all the above places has contributed to Prinstown and Portsmouth as well as New York and Philada."

Two old papers give some of the facts about these can-

vasses of Nisbet and Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Campbell [not Camble, as given in Montgomery's letter]. There is a receipt from Nisbet for \$50, as expenses "in travelling to Philadelphia and New York to solicit subscriptions for rebuilding said College by me." There is also an undated memorandum of the results of the other two canvassers. "Received at the City of Washington . . . \$1,007; . . . Frederick, Maryland, \$135; Alexandria, Virg., \$234; Fredericksburg, Virg., \$89.40; Richmond, \$443, Petersburg, \$92; Ladies Subscription, \$4; Hanover, Penny., \$30; Norfolk, Virg., \$420.20; omission in carrying out, \$10.20," a total of \$2,369.80. The expenses of the two were \$593.80, of which Montgomery had personally advanced \$20 when Campbell started on his mission. Subscriptions for \$152 were yet unpaid, and there had been handed over to the college treasurer \$1,629.50.

In addition to the above there is a much-prized subscription book of names of subscribers in Washington, together with the amount of their several subscriptions. Among these subscribers were President Thomas Jefferson, Chief Justice John Marshall, the French Minister, and many others in important positions at the new seat of Government.

A local Carlisle paper, evidently a supporter of Jefferson, comments on his generous magnanimity. "The President of the United States received the deputation from the College with his accustomed politeness and with that munificent spirit, which shows itself on all occasions, overlooking its supposed former unfriendliness to him, he gave 100 dollars as his benefaction. All the secretaries and every officer of Government gave donations."

On May 2, 1803, as a matter of routine trustee business, it was "Resolved, That Dr. Armstrong, Dr. McCoskry, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. C. Smith, or any three of them be appointed a committee to fix upon a proper plan for the 'building' intended to be erected for the 'College,' and that they report the same to the managers appointed for this purpose as soon as possible, together with their opinion as to

the kind of materials of which it would be most expedient to construct the same on consideration of all circumstances."

In the absence of any testimony to the contrary, it is fair to give this Committee credit for the plan and material of "Old West," that chaste, elegant, imposing piece of colonial architecture which has been the glory of the Dickinson campus for a century and a quarter. How they secured such a perfect plan is not clear, though it is known that the plan was the work of Benjamin H. Latrobe, then engaged in Washington with building enterprises of the National Government. There is a tradition that Judge Hugh H. Brackenridge, a trustee of the College from 1803, secured the services of Latrobe, and while the tradition lacks available proof, it seems altogether probable.

Latrobe is thought to have made drawings only, long since lost, but never to have been on the ground. The supposed copy of his letter on the subject, seen twenty years since, but having now disappeared and quoted from memory only, said that he had given this building somewhat greater elevation than Nassau Hall at Princeton, so that the first floor would have greater elevation and make the refectory more satisfactory to the students.

The plan for the building was in hand at least as early as June 22, when Montgomery writes Rush, "We have got a plan of a house, drawn by Mr. Henry Lathrob [sic], plain and simple, roomy and convenient, and will have an elegant appearance, four story to be build with stone. We are providing material, and expect to have the house in considerable forwardness this fall. . . . I am much pleased with the present plan, as it will be large, elegant, comfortable and not expensive, and will not cost more than about two dollars [probably two thousand dollars] more than the late house would have cost when finished."

Their securing such a plan seems a chance piece of good fortune, almost beyond belief but for the building itself; and their willingness to undertake such an enlarged enterprise seems yet more surprising. We know little of the

earlier building, but it was smaller and of brick. The one now proposed was to be of native limestone with brown sandstone trimmings, a much more expensive structure. The limestone, of course, was secured from near-by quarries, but the large amount of sandstone needed was probably brought from York County, a considerable distance at best, and the mere transportation of this stone such a distance under existing conditions was costly. There are receipts in existence for the hauling of this sandstone showing that it cost at least \$336.

That they had courage for the undertaking almost passes belief, but they had it. Certainly later generations have only gratitude for the spirit which left them West College.

The larger venture, however, was not made without objection, and that in high quarters. Rush decidedly disapproved. He wrote Montgomery on May 30, 1803, that he could not seek subscriptions in Philadelphia for the new building; there was too much distress. Then, too, he did not approve of the plan for a larger building; it was too costly. The new building was to furnish rooms for the boys—apparently the old one had not been so intended—and the herding of boys together in this way was “unfriendly to order and hurtful to morals.” He said that at Princeton the order was so much better after their building was burned and students roomed in private houses that it were better if their new building at Princeton also should burn. Rush urged the argument of expense also. It would cost “more money to finish it than you will collect in half a century . . . and will prevent your paying your just debts, particularly the large debt due to Dr. Nisbet. . . . Let the next generation extend and enlarge if it should be necessary.”

Montgomery's letter to Rush of June 22, 1803, from which quotation has already been made in approval of the plan of the building, was probably written to answer the objections of Rush, especially to the added cost. He says: “We will be able to finish as much of it as will accomodate all the students that may attend here for 10 or 15 years for about

nine thousand dollars. We have had complaint from different quarters that the students could not lodge in college. The new building will prevent complaints of this kind in future. I am, notwithstanding, of the opinion that most of the young men will incline to lodge in private houses, which I have and do still approve, as experience has made it fully appear. In future the students will have a choice."

Montgomery's estimate of \$9,000 for the completion of part of the building was too sanguine. He was himself Treasurer of the College during the first five years of building, and receipts taken by him for money spent from April, 1803, to January, 1808, total \$13,552.87. Yet less than \$500 had been spent on plastering and less than \$200 on painting. The building was far from complete. A Pennsylvania State Senate report of March 1, 1822, gives its cost as \$20,000.

What the building cost will probably never be known, though probably this Senate report is not far from the truth. This figure seems small today as one looks at the building; but East College was built thirty years later for less than half that sum. Labor was cheap—50 to 66 cents, and skilled labor but \$1 per day—not of eight hours, but more likely 12. Most materials were cheap.

Little is known also of the progress of the building toward completion. Montgomery writes Rush from time to time of his hopes, in May, 1804, that they were "disappointed in brick . . . but I expect that the roof will be on against November." Even in this expectation, however, he was probably disappointed, for in December of that year, as Treasurer of the College, he was paying the mason who had the contract for the outer walls; and a payment to the same man was made as late as November of the following year. This last payment, however, may have been a final payment on settlement of the account, long overdue.

From the *Gazette* we learn that the corner-stone of this building was laid on August 8, 1803. "The plan of the building has been furnished by Mr. Latrobe, surveyor of the

Public Works of the U. States, and unquestionably the first architect of the age. The donation is considered invaluable as no price can be set on the efforts of the scientific mind. Simplicity and adaptation to the purpose of the Institution are its excellence. As a public building it will do honour to Pennsylvania."

The Cumberland *Register* notes the first use of the building on November 4, 1805: "On Monday last Dickinson College opened after its vacation in the spacious edifice lately erected at the west end of the Borough. . . . Several rooms were prepared for the reception of the classes. . . . Much of this grand building is yet unfinished. . . . The classes have a fine southern exposure and will be pleasant with little aid from artificial warmth in the fine days of winter."

The oldest picture of West College known to exist is of unknown date. It certainly antedates the erection of East College, and gives color to the statement of an early traveler that the building was on a hill—a modest one, of course. The picture shows also that there was no second-floor entrance to the building at the eastern end, as has been the case for nearly one hundred years.

West College, thus occupied in November, 1805, was far from complete. In fact, it is probable that only a few rooms were ready for recitations, libraries, and societies. As late as 1810, early in Atwater's principalship, it was not prepared to room students. Part of a donation of Rush was then used for dividing the building into apartments suitable for lodging students and part for finishing "the dining room and procuring the tables and benches and building an oven." During the renovations of West College in 1929, the removal of plaster from the wall of the hall on the second floor revealed a stone with names and dates suggesting that rough stone walls still did service for the inner walls of the building as late as 1815; and this need be no surprise for those who are able to picture the conditions of life at the time. They looked at most for rude comfort, and the rough

stone wall would supply it. An advertisement of 1822 announced that the building was complete, except the "Hall"—the Old Chapel.

Before the building of Old West the campus of later years was quite open to the public, and probably to cows and other live-stock. In fact, it is a matter of record that the people of the town objected to the sale of any of the property around the original town-site, bounded by North, South, East and West streets, claiming that this property was to be "commons," for grazing purposes. When the trustees began to build the "New College," however, one of their early acts was to fence in their lot. Locust posts and chestnut rails were used for a post-and-rail fence, costing \$205.46. The gate-posts were 10 feet long and 10 inches square, costing \$3.

We would like to know other things about this early building, especially what, in the plan, was intended for its front. The outer architecture suggests that the south side, toward High Street, with the Old Stone Steps, was to be the front. The internal arrangement seems to contradict this, and in the middle of the north wall, between the two slight wings, there is provision for an entrance, one apparently never used. This northern possible entrance is not so imposing as the one on the south, but the interior construction and arrangement of the building strongly suggests that this was to be the main entrance.

Three thick walls run the entire length of the building, east and west. The middle one is so near the outer northern wall as to show that the two mark off the general hallway system of the building on all four of its stories, as they have always done. The general entrance to the halls was originally on the first or basement floor only. The middle wall is pierced at convenient places for entrance to all the rooms of the main part of the building south of it, and there are like entrances from the hallways to the two wings north of it. Moreover, there is no satisfactory access to this general hall system of the building from the south entrance at the Old Stone Steps. This south door gives entrance to the old

chapel only, and at the place necessary for the platform or pulpit, facing as it did the original gallery around all the north and most of the east and west walls of the old chapel. There are, however, entrances to this chapel from the halls by two doors from the general hallway of the second floor, and, prior to the removal of the gallery about 1890, there were two similar doors also from the general hall of the third floor.

A suggested solution of these contradictions of the building may be offered, but it is little better than a guess. Latrobe, the architect, was probably never on the ground and so knew nothing of the street on which the building should face; and there is a tradition that after the building was started it was found that it had been wrongly faced; that the north side should have been south, and vice versa.

There is another tradition on the subject, current about the College as late as the 70's of the last century, and this was formally recognized in 1868 by a report of the trustee Committee on Grounds and Buildings. They recommended the erection of "a piazza and steps on the north side of West College, as was designed when the College was originally built." If the building had been turned about—the eastern end becoming the western, and vice versa, and if these columns and this imposing entrance of Latrobe's plan had been built, all difficulties would disappear. The hallway system would then have been entered on the south through a doorway flanked by lofty colonial columns, and the northern front of the building would have had the Old Stone Steps, leading into the original Chapel, the one room in the building of considerable size and dignity because of its lofty ceiling of two stories. The only question remaining unanswered would be why the entrance from the Old Stone Steps led into the building at the only place for the pulpit; but this might be excused as being a reasonable concession to the general requirement for architectural beauty.

The next college building came over thirty years later, and West College may be accepted as the last of the early buildings.

THE EARLY COLLEGE FACULTY

WHEN Nisbet was reëlected, May 10, 1786, he had a Faculty of three, working mostly with the forty students in the Grammar School, as there were but twenty doing work in the "seminary," as the incipient college was often called. These three, in the order of their election, were James Ross, Robert Johnston, and Robert Davidson.

JAMES ROSS was elected in April, 1784, and at once appeared and took the oath of office, thus becoming the first legal member of the Faculty. He had been in charge of the Grammar School for probably three years before the College was chartered, and was on the tax-list of Carlisle as "school master." No mention is made of salary in the minute of his election. In September following, however, his salary was fixed at £180 per year. He served as Professor for eight years, and resigned in 1792.

Ross was a unique character and a great teacher, if the few remaining evidences of his career may be trusted. Second only to Nisbet, he seems to have been the most interesting member of the early Faculty. His greatness, however, was recognized only after he was gone; and while there are many fugitive statements concerning him, they are conflicting, some of them certainly mistaken. Even Dickinson College, which he served, seemed for a time to have forgotten him. No wonder that the Library of Princeton University reports "James Ross . . . is a perennial problem." His old College may well attempt to rescue him from oblivion, for Carlisle and Dickinson College associations probably meant more to him than any other. Here he did his first college work, probably preparing the material for his *magnum opus*, his Latin grammar; here he married the wife of his most active life, and here his remains lie buried by her side.

James Ross, the son of William Ross, a Scotch-Irish

immigrant from Ireland, was born May 18, 1743, in Oxford Township of Chester County, Pennsylvania, and was a pupil at Fagg's Manor in that county. His later academic studies are rather uncertain, though James Powers, in his *History of Jefferson College*, says that Ross graduated with him from Princeton College in 1766. Contemporary newspaper records of the members of the class do not mention Ross, and Princeton records are likewise silent as to his connection with the undergraduate body at any time. Powers could hardly have been altogether mistaken. He was probably a "non-graduate" member of Powers' class. Princeton records do show, however, that in 1818 "James Ross of Dickinson College received the degree of A.M., ad eundem," twenty-six years after he had left Dickinson and fifty-two years after his supposed class graduated. He had received this same master's degree from the College of Philadelphia, later the University of Pennsylvania, in 1775, while tutor there. This degree only appears on his *Grammar of 1784*. His later books and the inscription on his tomb show that he had received the degree of LL.D., but from what source is not known.

He was a teacher all his life. From 1775-1780 he was a tutor in the College of Philadelphia, and soon thereafter he appeared in Carlisle as head of the Grammar School. The Pennsylvania Archives record that one Henry McKinley "taught a classical school in Carlisle. On the 16th of October, 1776, he was commissioned captain . . . the Continental line. . . . He resigned on the 18th of June, 1778 and resumed teaching in Carlisle." Just when he returned to Carlisle, however, and for how long, is doubtful. He was on the local tax-lists prior to his military service, but not afterward. Ross probably succeeded him in the "classical school" in Carlisle on leaving Philadelphia in 1780, and, as previously noted, he was taxed in 1781 as "school master"; certainly he was Master of the Grammar School in 1784 on his election as first Professor of Languages in the College.

Ross's first wife died in Carlisle, April 14, 1788, and

September 13, 1789, he married Catherine Irvine, twenty years his junior, of the distinguished Irvine family, who survived him more than nineteen years. He apparently remained in Carlisle for a time after he resigned from the College in 1792, for the tax-lists continue him as a taxable, assessed as late as 1795, not only for real estate, but also for a cow and one dozen teaspoons valued at £2. His name then disappears from Carlisle records. He taught a small school in Upper Strasburg, Franklin County, for a time, possibly while yet living in Carlisle. Later he went to Chambersburg to teach a classical school.

Justice George Chambers of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania writes of Ross in the *Historical Magazine* of 1862, pages 324, 325: ". . . He came to reside in Chambersburg in the spring of 1796, on an engagement of somewhere about a dozen of parents, to establish here a classical school. He commenced at once with ten or twelve scholars, of whom I was one. He had resided a short time, I believe, in Strasburg of this County, having there some ten scholars pursuing the study of ancient languages. Immediately after he took up his residence in Chambersburg, he commenced the publication of his Latin Grammar. It was printed at the office of the Franklin Repository. . . . The stock of type and force was small. It was all the establishment could generally accomplish to get out a small sheet once a week, from their hand press. At this office was printed the grammar of Mr. Ross. It was received by my class in sheets from the press. It was the first and only one we had. . . . We were made to commit it thoroughly. If the forthcoming of a sheet was delayed from the press, we had to *review* what we had. . . . including notes and comments. Its publication occupied six months or more, and my class were engaged that time or more with our study of the Grammar. His school—a private one—increased considerably by students from the adjoining counties and Maryland. In August of 1797, the Chambersburg Academy was organized by the patrons of Mr. Ross's School and some others. It was incorporated in March

1798. . . . In May 1799 James Ross was appointed . . . Rector of the Academy. . . . His school increased and was in high reputation."

There was no corporal punishment in the Academy till 1801, when Ross became excited over a comparatively small matter and caned one of the best boys. The latter left the school, and his father threatened Ross with personal violence. Such was the feeling over the matter that Ross resigned, and soon thereafter removed to Lancaster. Judge Chambers continued: "Mr. Ross was an able and faithful teacher of . . . Latin and Greek. . . . He was more thoroughly acquainted with them than any person I ever knew. . . . He was engrossed with his studies in the Latin and Greek; and his readings outside of these were very limited."

Ross served as Professor of Languages in Franklin College, Lancaster, 1801-1809, and then returned to Philadelphia. Here he lived the remainder of his life, as stated on the title pages of books issued after 1809, as "Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages, in North Fourth St., Philadelphia." "Greek and Latin taught here" was the simple business sign on his house. He was familiarly called "Old Jimmy Ross" by his boys in Philadelphia. Another reports: "He taught nothing but these languages; but taught them better, probably, than they have ever been taught on this continent; and he possessed the rare gift of being able to inspire his pupils with a permanent and enthusiastic love for these studies." He died July, 1827, was buried in Philadelphia, but later his widow had his body brought to Carlisle and placed in the Irvine lot in the historic "Old Graveyard." A simple stone records: "In memory of James Ross, LL.D. who departed this life in Philadelphia, July 6th, A.D., 1827, aged 84 years."

"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen," and is quite as perfect as its more fortunate (?) fellows. James Ross might have been as good a man and apt a teacher without his Latin grammar. But this book brought him fame, and was the leading Latin grammar for many years

from its issue in 1794. The title page of this first edition was as follows: "Latin Grammar by James Ross, A.M., teacher of the Latin and Greek Languages, and Rector of the Franklin Academy in Chambersburg. Printed for the author by Robert Harper, MDCC, XCIII." There was a second edition in 1802, and many others followed, the earlier ones copyrighted by Ross during his life, and later ones by Thomas Desilver after his death. It was widely used in both schools and colleges. A final edition appeared in 1844, a half century after the first, enlarged and edited by N. C. Brooks, Principal of the Baltimore Latin High School. This edition omitted much of the elementary English grammar of early editions, deemed unnecessary under the school conditions of 1844. The old teacher's grammar was brought up to date in other matters, but his approach to the study of Latin remained valuable after fifty years.

By this grammar, then, Ross became well known to classical scholars for the greater part of a century; and many other books, less widely known, were issued by him from time to time. In 1804 appeared "Translation of Aesop's Fables . . . by James Ross, Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Franklin College, Borough of Lancaster." The same year, 1804, on the death of Nisbet, he wrote a Latin ode to his old Principal at Carlisle. Nine years later, in 1813, he issued a Greek grammar, of which there was a second edition in 1817. In 1819 he issued a book of Latin selections and his own Latin version of selections from the Greek, all of them alike being of purpose to inculcate high moral principles. For the use of parents concerned for the religious welfare of their children, in 1807 he issued an edition of the "Shorter Catechism done into Latin."

Ross was a patriot and believed in his country and in the hand of God active in its defense. Following the victory of our forces over the British at New Orleans, he promptly composed and dedicated to Thomas Jefferson a Latin poem of twenty-seven stanzas. The dedication runs as follows: "Ad Tho. Jefferson, President Nupercum, Hos Versiculos,

cum Salute Plurima, Mittit Ja. Ross, Victoria Neo-Aureliana, Januerii die octavo, A.D., 1815, Pax Gaudavensis." The first and last stanzas follow:

1.

Gloriam Coeli Domino canamus,
 Nam triumphalem tulit ipse palmam;
 Hostis armati repulit phalanges
 Funere victas.

27.

Ergo laudemus Dominum cohortum,
 Qui procul nostris domibus fugavit
 Hostium Turmas, aciesque victas
 Reddidit omnes.

Philadelphiae, Martiis kal. A.D. 1815.

Ross's Latin Ode to Nisbet on his death, and his reproduction, in his "Onomasia," of part of Nisbet's first address to the students, thirty-seven years after its delivery, suggest his admiration for Nisbet, under whom he had served nearly seven of his eight years in the College. There exists another bit of evidence of the possibly good understanding between Ross and Nisbet, that they had like views on some things and were possibly at variance with the two other teachers of the very early years. Rev. John King, one of the original trustees, wrote Rush in October, 1786, "I find that he [Nisbet] and Ross are somewhat cool with Davidson and Johnston. While Dr. D. presided [October, 1785 to May, 1786] . . . laws were . . . observed. Since that time they rule without them. Ross will not admit an English or writing master in school with him." It seems probable, then, that Ross and Nisbet, the classicists of the early Faculty, had somewhat similar ideas about their college problems, and possibly did not see things as did the more practical Davidson and Johnston. They were the two classical scholars of the Faculty, and probably had common ideals; and the loss of Ross to the College in 1792 may have robbed Nisbet of a congenial faculty companion.

Ross's "Selectae . . . Historiae" indicates that he had read the classics very widely and with appreciation, and his whole career shows that he lived in the realm of the classical literatures. He not only read the classics, but he spoke Latin freely, so that he readily made like reply to Nisbet's Latin inaugural address in 1785. He loved to speak the Latin, and his pupils would at times duck around corners to escape his ordinary salutations in Latin with expectation that they answer in kind. They were required to speak much Latin in the classroom, and that doubtless seemed enough to the lusty American youngsters, without such additions on the streets.

Another estimate of Ross says, "He was an erratic man, preëminent as a linguist, and a thorough teacher of the ancient languages." Knowledge of Latin and Greek was his standard of intelligence. The Professor of Mathematics, in Dickinson College was said to know mathematics, but little of the classics; and each was said to regard the other as a very ignorant man! Ross was a unique character, honest, upright, artless as a child, suggesting in some of his traits another great linguist of the later years of the College, Henry M. Harman.

ROBERT JOHNSTON was the second member of the college Faculty, elected June 15, 1785. Colonel Montgomery reported that he and Rush, previously appointed to "secure a teacher of mathematics, had agreed with Mr. Johnston to teach the mathematical school for one year at the rate of one hundred and twenty pounds," which agreement the Board approved. He was reëlected for another year in October, and May following, 1786, was made teacher also of natural philosophy and librarian. His salary was £120 per year, June to October; £130, October to May; and £150 thereafter, following his election for natural philosophy. Unfortunately for him, however, a month later the Board, the Principal, and Dr. Davidson visited his class in natural philosophy, and the next day he was relieved of his new duties, the salary being reduced to the old figure of £130.

The following April Mr. Johnston resigned as Professor of Mathematics, and his resignation was accepted. The ensuing January, 1788, one Robert Johnston, apparently the old Professor, was unanimously chosen trustee, and he served as such for twenty years.

ROBERT TAIT comes next on Board action of June, 1785, to "provide a person capable of teaching to write and read the English language with propriety and elegance," and in August following it is reported that "the Committee appointed to engage a suitable person . . . have spoke with Mr. Tait . . . and that Mr. Tait has arrived in Carlisle for that purpose." Mr. Tait's case was referred to another committee, which later reported "that they understand the trustees of Carlisle have offered the use of the English school-house in Carlisle to Mr. Tait, that they have conferred with and examined Mr. Tait, that they discover that he has a knowledge of the English language and that he can write a good hand, that he is willing to open an English reading and writing school . . . and continue the same at his own risque for one year, but prays the countenance and protection of the Board, and wishes that they will be surety for his house rent for one year." All this was agreed to, "and Mr. Tait is taken under the protection of the Board and is appointed a master of reading and writing the English language in Dickinson College."

Tait was apparently without means of support, for a college order was "drawn on the Treasurer for a sum to be advanced to Mr. Tait." His school did not improve his fortunes, though he doubtless made a brave effort. He advertised in the local paper that he was prepared to teach the "English and French languages grammatically." He also offered his services to "young ladies who chose to study any of these branches, and have not already acquired them, [each] may [if they please] have separate hours for themselves." Nevertheless, he seems to have been unsatisfactory, for in May of the next year, at the meeting which reëlected Nisbet, a committee was ordered "to procure an assistant

to Professor Ross in the Latin School, who is also to teach writing and arithmetic, and to teach English grammatically. Resolved, That in consequence of the foregoing appointment the Board dispense with the countenance of Mr. Tait under their direction." Tait was thus dismissed with scant consideration, and a letter he wrote Rush following his dismissal suggests that there were elements of special hardship in his case. He and his wife had been victims of the ever-present fever and ague; his child had died; they had been forced to live in two wretched rooms at a big rental; and he had been dismissed without any explanation or chance to answer any objections to him. His school, small at first, had grown to 30 but later had fallen to 24, with fees small and poorly paid, some of his pupils having gone to the Grammar School. He reports one item of local interest, that "there were three teachers of English and writing from Ireland, besides women's schools, established for a number of years past in this town." Tait, then, ceased to teach under countenance of the trustees on the return of Nisbet to the College.

To this meeting of May, 1786, which removed Tait, a "committee appointed to confer with Mr. Jones report that Dr. Jones informs them that the state of his health is such as to disable him to accept the professorship of the English language but . . . that he will cheerfully render every assistance and service that his particular situation will admit of. Resolved, That the Board . . . request that he will render such assistance."

Tait, in his letter, from which quotations have already been made, pays his respect to Daniel Jones, who was to teach English and oratory, as he was informed, and suggests that he is more likely to teach in the next world. A peppery brother was Tait; he had a caustic pen and could write the English language with elegance, propriety, and spice. His Christian name was Robert and that of Jones was Daniel, but Tait's letter alone gives these two names. He was obviously somewhat of a misfit in the Faculty.

The Rev. ROBERT DAVIDSON, D.D., pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Carlisle, was the fourth member of the Faculty, elected in August, 1785, as "Professor of History, Geography, Chronology and Belles Lettres"; and some account of him will be given later under his administration of the College as Principal *pro tem*, 1804-1809.

In a letter Rush wrote in 1785 in favor of Davidson's election he broaches another matter of faculty policy, giving new evidence that he was studying the broader problems of the College and planning to make it useful. Who but he could have formulated the following: "I hope we shall not lose sight of a German teacher in our College. The Germans now comprise nearly one third of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania. They must be enlightened, or we shall not long enjoy the benefits of that light we are endeavoring to spread among our inhabitants of other nations. It is painful to take notice of the extreme ignorance which they discover in their numerous suits in law, in their attachment to quacks in physic, and in their violent and mistaken zeal in government. The influence of our College if properly directed might reform them, and show them that men should live for other purposes than simply to cultivate the earth and to accumulate specie. The temperate manner of living of the Germans would make them excellent subjects for literature, and their industry and frugality if connected with knowledge would make them equally good subjects to quiet and legal government." Rush's vision and purpose in this were wise and statesmanlike, and something of the sort was greatly needed, but the new College having small means, any enlargement along the lines he suggested was out of the question. A very few years later, however, the Germans themselves undertook this task by founding Franklin College at Lancaster, and Rush was one of its original trustees.

JAMES McCORMICK entered after the resignation of Robert Johnston in April, 1787, when the Board voted, "It being necessary that a teacher of mathematics be obtained as soon as possible, Resolved, That the Trustees in town be a com-

mittee to agree with the proper person for the position." While there is no record that the committee ever acted, there is other evidence that a teacher was secured, and this other evidence shows that college finances were in a bad way. A trustee minute of December 3, 1788, says: "Resolved, That the Committee of Accounts draw orders in favor of Mr. James McCormick, teacher of mathematics (also, one in favor of a teacher in the Grammar School) to whom the institutions stands indebted, on all or any of the persons who stand indebted for subscriptions or tuition money, and that the said Creditors have their choice, on whom to receive such orders." The unpaid teachers were thus made collectors of what the trustees seemed unable to collect. The amounts are not named, and possibly did not much matter, in view of the medium of payment. Whether Mr. McCormick collected is uncertain, though apparently he managed to live, possibly because he had student boarders—eight of them as reported by Taney in 1792, all his house could accommodate. Three years after this order on college creditors, another and better order was drawn in favor of "Mr. McCormick, the teacher of the Mathematics" for £100 on account of arrears in salary. This followed a grant of £1,500 by the state, £740 of which was thus used at once as pay on arrears of salary. Prior to this McCormick had been "teacher" of mathematics, but May 3, 1792, he was elected Professor, salary to be £100 per annum. He continued in the Faculty twenty-six years, the longest term of service of the first century of college history. One of the toasts of a student Fourth of July celebration following McCormick's leaving the College was, "The memory of our late worthy Instructor, James McCormick." This harmonizes with Chief Justice Taney's words of praise soon to follow.

In 1791 and 1792 McCormick issued "The Western Almanack" for the two following years, adapted to the latitude and meridian of Carlisle. It was published and sold by the Loudons, fifty cents per dozen. Later a "Dickinson College Almanac" was issued, doubtless by McCormick.

James Ross resigned as Professor of Languages in 1792, and "A committee of Trustees having agreed the 4th day of October, 1792, with Mr. HENRY DAVIS to teach the languages for one year. . . . Salary £100," doubtless to succeed Ross. The committee's action was approved by the Board on April 16, 1794. This was a temporary arrangement, however, as the same meeting of the Board elected WILLIAM THOMPSON, Professor of Languages, his work to begin October 1 and his salary to be £150 per annum. Mr. Thompson continued with the College till 1802, when Dr. Davidson became Professor of Languages in addition to his other work. James Huston, of the Grammar School, also assisted in the college language work.

This appointment of Davidson as Professor of Languages was probably a nominal one, for the work in languages was largely done by JOHN BORLAND. The meeting of the Board which gave Davidson this additional work felt it necessary "in consequence of the removal of Mr. Thompson (the previous teacher of languages) to procure some suitable person to teach in the Grammar School," and Borland was secured on a two-year contract, at £100 per annum. He came ostensibly as teacher in the Grammar School, but almost certainly took over much of Thompson's college work in languages; for when he withdrew, three years later, in 1805, he resigned "the professorship of language in Dickinson College." He was treated with singular courtesy on his withdrawal. The trustees appointed a committee to assure him of their "esteem for his character as a citizen and of their complete satisfaction" with his work. He returned as Professor six years later, but for one year only. Borland must have made a very favorable impression, for Montgomery wrote Rush in June, 1803, at the close of Borland's first year, "Our new Grammar Master is a complete scholar and has an excellent method of teaching, and is a decent, goodlooking man, though young. Men are highly pleased with him, and the Trustees feel no loss in the change of his being in the place of Mr. Thompson."

Finally, Dr. Nisbet himself was probably the master teacher during his eighteen years at the College. The head of a college in his time was principally a teacher, and Nisbet was a teacher, and did an amount of work almost beyond belief, as shown by records and the abundant testimony here and there of his pupils.

Samuel Miller, Nisbet's biographer, says that Nisbet "began the preparation and delivery of *four coördinate courses of lectures, one on logic, another on the philosophy of the mind, a third on moral philosophy, and a fourth on Belles Lettres*, including interesting views, historical and literary, of the principal classical writers, both Greek and Latin. These were all carried on at the same time, and with the greatest apparent ease; the lecture of each successive day being, for the most part, written, so far as it was committed to writing at all, on the preceding evening. But it was unnecessary for him to write more than the leading outlines of a lecture on almost any subject. His mind was so full of digested and arranged matter, that a little premeditation, and committing to paper a few facts, dates and hints, were all that he required for an ample preparation to meet and gratify his class. But besides the four courses of lectures already mentioned . . . (he) delivered a *fifth on Systematic Theology* . . . probably the very first course . . . on that subject . . . in the United States." These theological lectures, four hundred and eighteen in number, were given only once, October, 1788, to January, 1791. He refused to allow them to be published, as they were largely drawn from other theologians, so that he laid no claim to originality in them. Dr. Nisbet came to America nine years after the issue of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," the world's standard on the subject for many years. Nisbet was doubtless acquainted with Smith's great work, and some of his lectures were on economic subjects, and included also much which has later been called Sociology, the first on these subjects delivered in America. In addition to this work of the classroom, Nisbet preached once each Sabbath in the Presby-

terian Church of Carlisle, the church of which Davidson was pastor.

Roger Brooke Taney, of the Class of 1795, for twenty-eight years Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and James Buchanan, of the Class of 1809, President of the United States, 1857-1861, were Dickinson College's most distinguished graduates in political life. These two men prepared biographical material for their early years, Taney's material reaching to the sixth year after his graduation and Buchanan's to the seventh. Thus there exists their own story of their college life, and as first-hand material for a time so far distant is scanty at best, it seems proper that their stories should be given, especially as the distinction of the witnesses gives added value to their testimony. Taney was in college during Nisbet's administration, and his story tells of Nisbet and other teachers of his time. Buchanan was a student during the administration of Davidson, and his college story will appear later under Davidson's administration.

Taney writes:

My father was induced to select Dickinson College from the circumstance that two young men, a few years older than myself, were already there, with whose families he was intimately acquainted, and who gave very favorable accounts of the institution. It certainly deserved it while Dr. Nisbet was at its head, and the other departments were in the hands in which I found them.

I went in company with one of the young gentlemen of whom I have spoken, when he returned after the spring vacation in 1792. It was no small undertaking, however, in that day, to get from the lower part of Calvert County to Carlisle. We embarked on board one of the schooners employed in transporting produce and goods between the Patuxent River and Baltimore, and, owing to unfavorable winds, it was a week before we reached our port of destination; and, as there was no stage or any other public conveyance between Baltimore and Carlisle, we were obliged to stay at an inn until we could find a wagon returning to Carlisle, and not too heavily laden to take our trunks and allow us occasionally to ride in it. This we at length accomplished, and in that way proceeded to Carlisle, and arrived safely, making the whole journey from our homes in about a fortnight. And what made the whole journey more unpleasant was that we were obliged to take, in specie, money enough to pay our expenses

until the next vacation. The money was necessarily placed in our trunks, and they were often much exposed in an open wagon in a public wagon-yard, while the wagonner and ourselves were somewhere else. But, in truth, we were not very anxious on that score, for a robbery in that day, was hardly to be thought of as among the hazards of travel. But times are greatly changed in that respect, although certainly much improved as to travelling itself. I remained at college until the fall of 1795, when I graduated, and received the diploma of Bachelor of Arts. The difficulties of the journey were so great that I went home but twice, and, upon both occasions, walked from Carlisle to Baltimore with one of my school-companions, performing the journey in a little over two days. We came to Owing's Mill, within twelve miles of Baltimore, on the evening of the second day. The distance from Carlisle to Baltimore was then said to be eighty-five miles. But estimated distances are often overstated, and in this instance the true distance may be less.

I have not a great deal to say of my college life. It was, taken altogether, a pleasant one. None of us boarded in the college, but at different private boarding-houses about town, for the present edifice was not then erected, and the building used was a small and shabby one, fronting on a dirty alley, but with a large open lot in the rear, where we often amused ourselves with playing bandy. After the first six months I boarded with James McCormick, the professor of mathematics. There were generally eight of us in the house, which were as many as it could accommodate. Mr. McCormick and his wife were as kind to us as if they had been our parents. He was unwearied in his attentions to us in our studies, full of patience and good nature, and sometimes seemed distressed when, upon examining a pupil, he found him not quite as learned as he was himself.

I took a letter from my father to Dr. Nisbet, asking him to stand in the place of a guardian to me on account of my youth and distance from home and friends, and the retirement and seclusion in which I had so far been educated. He cheerfully took upon himself the duty, and invited me to visit him often. I did so. And many a pleasant evening have I spent at his house. He did not worry or fatigue me by grave and solemn lectures and admonitions. But although his conversation was always intended, as I afterwards saw, for my benefit and instruction, yet it did not seem so at the time. It was cheerful and animated, full of anecdote and of classical allusions, and seasoned with lively and playful wit. The class under his immediate instruction always became warmly and affectionately attached to him; yet, if he saw conduct that merited reproof, his sarcasm was sometimes bitter, and cut deep at the time. But I never saw it used towards a pupil unless he deserved it.

In my visits in the evening I always met Mrs. Nisbet, who was far advanced in life, but in good health. She, as well as Dr. Nisbet, took an interest in me, from my youth and the manner in which I had been placed under his care; and she never failed, when she had an opportunity,

to give me a regular course of motherly instructions and advice. I always listened to her with feeling of real respect. But, unfortunately, her dialect was so broadly Scotch, that I never understood the half of what she said, and could do nothing therefore but bow in assent. Perhaps I may sometimes have given this sign when she was putting a question that I ought to have answered "No," if I had exactly understood what she was saying.

Dr. Nisbet's share of the college duties was ethics, logic, metaphysics, and criticism. His mode of instruction was by lectures written out and read to the class slowly, so that we might write it down; yet it required a pretty good penman and fixed attention to keep up with him; and with all my efforts, I was sensible that his idea was not always expressed with perfect accuracy in my copy. But it was always sufficiently full to enable me to recall the substance of what he had said, when, in order to impress it upon my mind, I read it over. In addition to these lectures, there was a compendium of each science, in the form of question and answer, which each of the class was required to copy. It was a good-sized octavo volume closely written. But although the answers were written out by him, yet he always showed most pleasure when the pupil gave the answer in different words from those in the book, even if the answer was not strictly exact and scientific. He would, on such occasions, go over what the student had said, comment kindly upon it, and say how far it was correct, and in what respect it was not full enough or diffuse. He undoubtedly succeeded in fastening our attention upon the subject on which he was lecturing, and induced us to think upon it and discuss it, and form opinions for ourselves. These opinions were, of course, greatly influenced by what he had said. But there was one subject upon which the class was unanimously opposed to him. In his lectures on ethics, he, of course, introduced the laws of nations, and the moral principles upon which they should be governed. And political questions, and the different forms of government existing in different nations, were therefore within the scope of his lectures. Upon these subjects he was decidedly anti-Republican. He had no faith in our institutions, and did not believe in their stability, or in their capacity to protect the rights of person or property against the impulses of popular passion, which combinations of designing men might continue to excite. These opinions were monstrous heresies in our eyes. But we heard them with good humor, and without offending him by any mark of disapprobation in his presence. We supposed they were the necessary consequence of his birth and education in Scotland. Yet many, I believe a majority of the class, would not write down those portions of his lectures; and, if the opinion had been expressed by any other professor, the class would probably have openly rebelled.

At this point Taney pays his respects to Dr. Davidson in no very favorable way, and this part of his story will appear

in the later estimate of Davidson as Acting Principal, 1804-1809. Following his account of Davidson, Taney continues:

The only remaining professor in the college, when I entered it, was Charles Huston, and his province was to teach the Latin and Greek languages. There was no teacher of French or any other modern language, nor was there any teacher of the English grammar. We were expected to make ourselves masters of it by the study in the Greek and Latin, and reading the best authors in the English language. I completed my studies of the Latin and Greek under Mr. Huston.

Under these professors I studied the different branches of science which I have enumerated. I studied closely, was always well prepared in my lessons, and, while I gladly joined my companions in their athletic sports and amusements, I yet found time to read a great deal beyond the books we were required to study.

The final examination, which was to determine whether the student should graduate, was public and "generally attended by most of the trustees, or visitors who were in town, and sometimes by other gentlemen of literary taste who took an interest in the success of such institutions . . . none [of his class] were rejected, although there were certainly some very indifferent scholars among us . . . Each of those who intended to speak [at commencement] had a subject selected for him by Dr. Nisbet, and with it what was called a skeleton, that is, brief notes of the manner in which it might be handled . . . about half a page of small letter paper closely written."

The two honors of commencement, the valedictory and salutatory orations, were assigned by the members of the class by ballot, but the election was not free from politics. There were already the two literary societies, Belles Lettres and Union Philosophical. Each was anxious to have both honors, and took them when a majority of the class belonged to one society. Generally, however, this was not the case, and those outside the societies determined the election. Each society presented candidates for both honors, and all its members in the class were supposed to be in honor bound

to support the society caucus nominee. Taney was the nominee of the Belles Lettres Society, and was elected valedictorian, but his society failed to elect their salutatorian candidate, this second honor going to David McConaughy of the Union Philosophical Society.

Taney's oration was a subject of great anxiety, as he wrote, "I had never written a paragraph of my own composition except familiar and unstudied letters to my family. This oration cost me much trouble and anxiety. I took much pains with it, and perhaps should have done better if I had taken less." In this he may have been wrong, for Dr. Nisbet examined it and returned it to him with "only one or two slight verbal alterations." He continues:

But now came my severest trial. The Commencement was held in a large Presbyterian church, in which Dr. Nisbet and Dr. Davidson preached alternately. A large platform of unplanned plank was erected in this church in front of the pulpit, and touching it, and on a level with its floor. From this platform the graduate spoke, without even, I think, a single rail on which he could rest his hand while speaking. In front of him was a crowded audience of ladies and gentlemen; behind him, on the right, sat the professors and trustees in the segment of the circle; and on the left, in like order, sat the graduates who were to speak after him; and in the pulpit, concealed from public view, sat some fellow-student, with the oration in his hand, to prompt the speaker if his memory should fail him. I evidently could not have been very vain of my oration, for I never called on my prompter for it, and have never seen it since it was delivered, nor do I know what became of it. I sat on this platform, while oration after oration was spoken, awaiting my turn, thinking over what I had to say, and trying to muster up courage enough to speak it with composure. But I was sadly frightened, and trembled in every limb, and my voice was husky and unmanageable. I was sensible of all this, much mortified by it; and my feeling of mortification made matters worse. Fortunately, my speech had been so well committed to memory that I went through without the aid of the prompter. But the pathos of leave-taking from the professors and my classmates, which had been so carefully worked out in the written oration, was, I doubt not, spoiled by the embarrassment under which it was delivered.

These memories of Taney's personal associations with Nisbet in his house, the fact that he and others boarded with

Professor McCormick and had very pleasant relations with him and his family, and Samuel Miller's statement that he spent many evenings at the house of Nisbet, all show that some of the students, at least, were welcomed to the homes of some members of the Faculty, show that the Professors were more than teachers in the classrooms, and that they were real mentors of the lads committed to their care, many of them, like Taney, very far from home, by the existing conditions of travel.

Curiously enough, a letter of the time from Nisbet to a student's father has been preserved, and follows:

Carlisle, 6th Febr'y., 1792

Sir: I was favoured with yours of the 21st Oct. last in due time, but was at a loss how to convey an Answer, but having this Day received a Letter signed Philip Key, who I suppose is one of the Representatives of your State, I shall take the Opportunity of answering it under his Cover. The Letter to your Son inclosed in Mr. Key's Letter is delivered to him. I am greatly pleased with your rational and Parental Affection for your Son's Welfare, not only because such an Affection is amiable in itself & deserving of Esteem, but because from this I am persuaded that you will be disposed to give your Son such Directions & Injunctions, both with Regard to Behaviour, & his application to his studies, as may be of use to him, & render him obedient to the Directions which he receives from us. I wish heartily that all those who have Children at this Seminary, were possessed of the same rational Affection and Concern for their Children, as it would not only abridge our Labour, but give additional Weight to all our Instructions, for want of which the greatest Part of them fall to the Ground without Effect. Your son's Conduct and Application to his Studies is unexceptionable, but as every young man is exposed to bad Example, your frequent writing him and putting him in Mind of his Duty, and of your Affections and Expectations, will be one of the best Means of preserving him from their Infection, and our Admonitions shall not be wanting. A Parent cannot but be anxious when his Child is at a Distance from him, & exposed to Dangers of different kinds, but as in Education a certain Risk must be run, in order to gain a certain Advantage, every good Parent, as well as every good Teacher ought to be satisfied when he is taking the best means for preserving the Morals of his Child, as well as for improving his Understanding. Your son is well, tho' some few of our students have been troubled with Colds and Sore Throats.

I am, with Esteem, Sir, Your very humble servant,

CHAS. NISBET.

The various subjects of the college course seem to have been taught about as follows during Nisbet's administration:

Logic, Philosophy of the Mind, Moral Philosophy and Belles Lettres, Economics and Sociology—Nisbet, 1786-1804.

Languages—Ross, 1784-1792; Davis, 1793-1794; Thompson, 1794-1802; Davidson, 1802-1804; Borland [as tutor], 1802-1804, [as Professor], 1804-1805.

History, Chronology, etc.—Davidson, 1785-1809, also Acting Principal, 1804-1809.

Mathematics—Johnston, 1785-1787; McCormick [as "teacher"] 1787-1792, [as Professor] 1792-1811.

English—Tait, 1785-1786; Jones, possibly, 1786-; Davidson, as he had time.

Natural Philosophy—Johnston, 1786, for a time; later Davidson as he had time.

Subjects and departments were not clearly separated, and some subjects not formally provided for were certainly taught, as English and Natural Philosophy. These other subjects were doubtless taken by those whose schedules would permit it, and in 1792 a letter of Nisbet says that "Dr. Davidson teaches . . . English Grammar, the Elements of Oratory . . . he has got Natural Philosophy added to his department."

THE FINANCES OF THE NEW COLLEGE

THE story of the college finances in Nisbet's time is a sorry one of dire poverty, long continued, relieved only by Rush's rosy hopes and his explanation of their failure. He held out the hope of £10,000 of endowment funds in a year or two, but the highest figure for fifty years was not more than £7,600. Cuming, a Carlisle visitor in 1808, reported in his "Western Tour" that the funds of the College were about £4,000. Ten years later, at most, these endowment funds had disappeared altogether.

There are few records of the funds in the hands of the trustees. The £1,640 and some land in April, 1784, and £4,477 and some land in September of the same year, finally reached a high-water mark of \$20,211.29, or £7,600. This seems pitifully small for a college endowment, but college endowments generally were then small, and Rush said of these funds: "There are few colleges in America that can boast so large a foundation for a productive and permanent income." Nevertheless, the income was always too small, though with decent provision for students the College might possibly have met expenses. Nisbet repeatedly asked for better housing facilities, both town and college, that the College might have a fair trial to see whether it could live. Such facilities, however, never existed during his life, and students continued few—forty to seventy. Fees were small, but \$15 to \$25 per year, so that the college income was always less than expenses. The College thus fell more and more deeply into debt with every passing year.

The very early financial straits of the College are shown by the payment of teachers in 1788 by orders on those who owed it money on subscription or for tuition. The College probably lost some of its best teachers, like Ross and Borland, by its failure to pay them even the small salaries promised; and Nisbet himself doubtless remained because

he could not easily go elsewhere. One of his letters says, "I must submit to the event, whatever it may be, as I am in a dependent situation, and unconnected, and therefore must content myself with submitting this matter to those who have power to determine it, and who will do as they think fit."

Another evidence of salaries in arrears is found in the payment to Davidson following a state grant in 1791 of "one half of his last year's salary," and shortly afterward a full year's salary to all the teachers "on account of arrearages of salary." They seem to have been at least a year and a half in arrears, possibly more. Court records show that most of Nisbet's estate finally consisted of what was due him from the College and from the Presbyterian Church for which he preached once each Sabbath—\$6,700 from the one and \$1,200 from the other. It is difficult to understand how any who knew these facts could rail at him as mercenary and lacking in ability to make sacrifices.

In 1788, while the adoption of our Constitution was in doubt, Rush writes Montgomery of financial conditions and hard times in the country generally. The hard times were given as the cause of the difficulties of the College, and he then tells of his hopes for a stronger government. "Let us not be discouraged by the present low state of our funds and the declining number of our pupils. Is there anything or anybody in America that is now in a prosperous situation? Colleges, schools, churches, all languish beneath the present disturbed state of our public affairs; and farmers, merchants, tradesmen, lawyers, doctors and ministers are all full of complaints. . . . Adieu. We expect soon to hear of the ratification by South Carolina, and we are assured that there is a majority of 40 of the members of the convention of Virginia who are in favor of the new government."

Rush evidently expected this stronger government to result in a boon for state certificates, then at a great discount. Commenting on his purchase of certificates for the College he says, "I wish all the cash we can collect and spare

from our building could be applied in the same way. The opportunity of increasing our funds by this speculation will not last probably more than a year or two longer. . . . I hope it will not be necessary to use any arguments to dissuade the Board from sinking their funds by purchasing at present the Public Works. Our professors, I hope, possess so much public spirit as to be willing to teach in the schoolhouse for a few years, till the value of our lands will enable us to purchase or build a large and splendid house for that purpose." [Stricken out but legible]—"The church before Constantine had wooden pulpits but golden ministers, but after his patronage, pulpits of gold but ministers of wood. Our College may have golden professors, or without figures, we shall have gold to procure and pay them.

"Let us imitate the German economy in settling a farm by building a barn before a dwelling house. Let our funds be our barn, out of which if they are managed properly, a college and houses of all kinds will grow in the course of a few years."

Optimism, however, could not meet the ever-increasing debt, and in 1797 a Committee of the Board on "The General State of the College" made their report in numerous resolutions: "That there were no adequate resources to meet their heavy debts, so that they feared an early dissolution of the College"; that the Faculty be urged to "use every exertion to promote the good government of the College . . . in order that from its character for learning and good order, the Legislature may be induced to interpose to save it from the ruin with which it is threatened"; that another appeal be made to the Legislature for an endowment to enable the trustees to pay its debts and balance its budget; that they strive to secure "a proper edifice, and to this end inquiry be made about the Public Buildings near Carlisle"; that suits be brought against all who refuse to pay their subscriptions or other debts due the College; that an Honor Book be prepared, with the names of all who ever paid ten pounds and upwards, as principal benefactors of the College, "and that

the same shall be read publicly at every commencement in the presence of all the members of the College"; that "an oration be delivered by one of the students at each commencement in favor of Benevolence to Literary Institutions"; that the Faculty watch over the morals of the students; and that taverns be watched so that those admitting students at improper times may be opposed hereafter in their efforts to secure license.

These resolutions of 1797 declared the 10,000 acres of land, held by them from the state, were for future sale as endowment, and should not be sold to pay debts. Three years later, however, in 1800, when hard pressed for money to complete "the edifice erected for the College," the first college building, they borrowed \$2,000 and pledged their endowment as security, sufficient of their securities to pay the debt to be sold "on ten days notice" by the lender. This was a thinly disguised beginning of the dissipation of their invested funds, and shortly afterward they actually sold enough of their securities to get \$2,000 more for the same purpose. Shortly after this another committee "on the present state of the College . . . to recommend such alterations . . . as they may deem conducive to promote its welfare and interest" reported radical changes in salary, for Nisbet \$800 instead of the previous \$1,200, and \$60 for house rent; for Davidson \$160; for the other two the entrance and tuition fees from students. All four accepted the new terms, though later additional grant was made Mr. Thompson to raise his salary to \$400. Davidson was pastor of the Presbyterian Church, and thus had other means of support.

The trustees probably hoped to be able to meet the lessened salary charges, but there is no evidence that they succeeded. By September, 1803, affairs had clearly reached a desperate condition, and Nisbet pressed for a settlement of his long overdue claims upon the College. A trustee committee of three was "appointed to wait upon Dr. Nisbet to ascertain the precise deficits in view as referred to in his letter, Resolved, That Dr. Nisbet be requested to furnish

an account in writing of the matters which the Doctor considered to be in controversy between him and the Trustees." This was on the morning of September 29, and the "precise details" asked were ready for the Board meeting in the afternoon of the same day. The statement itself is lost, but its tenor may be guessed from two existing papers: one, the record of the trustees on the subject, the other, a letter of Nisbet to Rush two months later. The record of the trustees says: "The Trustees have received the communication of Dr. Nisbet on the subject of his claims against the institution, and, though they pass over for the present much in that communication as well in the matter, totally unfounded, as in its language, very reprehensible, and consider his claims as altogether inadmissible, yet being unwilling to throw any difficulty or delay in the way of the Doctor in the legal investigation of his claims" they offer to present a case stated to the courts for legal determination of the matter at issue, "this done with a view to escape all imputation . . . of a disposition to procrastinate." The other paper, Nisbet's letter to Rush, was written on November 29, just two months after the trustee proposal of a case stated, and appears elsewhere. It gives no statement of the amount he claimed as due him, but is a biting arraignment of the action of the trustees from which he had suffered for over eighteen years, and shows how the trustees could hardly do other than call "its language very reprehensible." However, there was much excuse for anything he may have said. They owed him a large sum—\$6,693.37, as shown by the inventory of the administrators of his estate. Not bearing on college finances, but making his personal case worse, was the fact that the Carlisle Presbyterian Church also owed him \$1,200.

As late as 1810, six years after his death, the College yet owed Nisbet's heirs \$6,000. They pressed for settlement and even levied on the college site. The trustees declared that the action threatened to "sacrifice the property of the Institution," and said that they had hoped for more con-

sideration, in view of the liberal manner in which the accounts of Dr. Nisbet had been settled. Payment of the Nisbet account was now made by proceeds from the sale of college endowment securities. Many other old debts were paid off at the same time, some of them of very long standing.

They had used part of their original funds, Nisbet charged, to build the original "college house," and now this further sale was probably the only possible way to keep the College alive. At any rate, during the next few years the invested funds disappeared, and nothing remained when the College closed in 1816. After its second closing in 1832, the old Treasurer turned over to the new one \$69 in cash and the old Coleman bank stock, hypothecated for loans from the bank of nearly equal value. The endowment had disappeared long before.

The College had at one time, as has been stated, an endowment of approximately \$20,000. On this security they borrowed to apply to their first building program, as previously detailed. Fortunately, there is an old record that in October, 1808, they yet had \$12,353.

Under pressure from Nisbet's heirs, as above, on May 17, 1810, they authorized further sale of their securities, as follows:

"Resolved, That the President of the Board be empowered to sell so much stock as will amount to the one half of the debt due Dr. Nisbet, Dr. Davidson and Professor McCormick. And that he pay to the representatives of Dr. Nisbet the one half of the debt due to them, the remainder to be put to the discharge of the debts due to Dr. Davidson and Professor McCormick. And that the same gentleman be further irrevocably empowered to sell such further amount of stock, on or before the 10th day of March next, as will be sufficient to discharge all the debts of the Institution, paying the representatives of Dr. Nisbet the remaining part of their debt, and the remainder of such further sale to be paid to the Treasurer to enable him to pay all the debts; unless the same are discharged before that time."

On this order of the Board they sold, in 1810, \$5,613 of their \$12,353 and received therefor, \$5,644. This was applied in July, 1810, in part as follows: To Dr. McCoskry, son-in-law and administrator of Dr. Nisbet, \$3,100; to Davidson, \$500; and to McCormick, \$1,000. These were all in part payment only. They also bought some bank stock for \$945. In 1811 they made further sale of stock for \$7,629. After this second sale of 1811 they made payments of \$3,300 to Dr. McCoskry, \$623 to Davidson, and \$600 to McCormick. McCormick's payment was "on acct," but the other two were "in full." Some payments were evidently made on the other debts suggested in the resolution for sale.

The above makes clear that they had paid the Nisbet heirs \$6,400, equal to his salary for over five years; \$1,123 to Davidson, or nearly three years' salary; and to McCormick \$1,600, or full four years' salary. This makes \$9,123 which can be definitely traced, and leaves the bank stock and something over \$3,000 after the two stock sales. All of this latter was doubtless used in the payment of other debts. It did not pay all of them, for in 1817 a bill of \$229 was paid on an order of 1808, three years before these later payments. The evidence indicates that they paid when they had to do so and had wherewith to pay. When the endowment was gone in 1811, they yet had some debts.

That this endowment was gone is strongly supported by action of the Board in 1817. In March of that year they owed John McKnight, their late Principal, \$811, but had naught wherewith to pay. Under these circumstances the Board took the following action: "Therefore, the Board under the pressure of urgent necessity resolve that money from a state grant specifically made for the purchase of books and apparatus be used to settle this account with McKnight and the Board further resolves that all the estate of the College be . . . pledged for the refunding and due appropriation of the sum thus applied etc." "Under the pressure of urgent necessity," then, the Board misappropriated this grant of the state, with no suggestion that they

had other invested funds available. Their endowment was gone; and one might add that their corporate honor was also gone, after these years of hard dealing with their teachers.

It is a curious fact that practically every other report of meetings of the Board gives the names of trustees present, but this one merely records "a quorum being formed." Were they ashamed? There is no evidence that the sum thus misappropriated was ever refunded, and presumption is strongly to the contrary. Apparently, too, they used the balance of this specific library and apparatus fund for other purposes. There is no evidence that it was ever used for either books or apparatus.

The trustees thus settled in full with McKnight in 1817. He must have been more urgent for settlement than Atwater in 1815, or the corporate honor of the Board had declined in the meantime. On Atwater's withdrawal in 1815, there was due him a balance of \$250, and this was paid in 1821 with interest, a total of \$319.

State aid for the College had bulked large in the early plans of Rush. He had proposed originally to ask for an endowment with the charter. However, on the suggestion that the state was not likely to grant this to a college so sectarian in organization, he dropped the original proposal, saying that endowment from the state could be secured later.

While Rush may have expected state aid, he sought other subscriptions for the College as zealously as though he had no such hope. And well it was that he did so, for though grants from the state were often sought, those obtained were few and small.

State grants to the College for its first fifty years totaled less than \$60,000. Most of these grants were after 1821, and the earliest grants, that is for thirty-eight years, 1783-1821, averaged about \$550 per year. Even these small grants were generally made to tide over emergencies only, to pay debts and save the life of the College.

There was never any worthwhile grant from the state

which took the form of permanent endowment. The only apparent exceptions to this were a grant of 10,000 acres of land in 1786, later returned to the state for a money grant; and \$3,000 in 1791 for endowment to pay tuition for a certain number of free students.

The first application of the trustees to the state for help was made at their first meeting in Carlisle in April, 1784. There were many other such appeals, for they became almost chronic with the ever-present poverty of the College.

One of these appeals brought a peculiar response. In 1789 the College and the city of Philadelphia were granted lottery rights, to net the College \$2,000, and the city \$8,000. The *Federal Gazette*, of Philadelphia, on Tuesday, February 8, 1791, advertised the lottery, and as no one of the present generation has seen such an advertisement, it is given in full as follows:

A LOTTERY

For raising the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars for erecting a City Hall in Philadelphia and for the use of Dickinson College in the Borough of Carlisle, agreeably to an act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania.

The Scheme is as follows:

PRIZES	DOLLARS
1 of 3000 dollars is	3,000
1 of 2000 dollars is	2,000
2 of 1000 dollars are	2,000
6 of 500 dollars are	3,000
10 of 300 dollars are	3,000
20 of 200 dollars are	4,000
30 of 100 dollars are	3,000
60 of 50 dollars are	3,000
100 of 30 dollars are	3,000
185 of 20 dollars are	3,700
4621 of 8 dollars are	36,968
5036	\$66,668
11,631 Blanks	

16,667 Tickets at 4 dollars each are 66,668 dollars. All Prizes subject to a deduction of 15 per cent.

The Managers of the City Hall and Dickinson College Lottery have

the pleasure of informing the public that they have completed the rolling up of the numbers of said Lottery, and nothing but a few tickets remaining unsold prevent their proceeding immediately to the drawing. Tickets may be had of David Lenox, Philip Wagner, Francis Gurney, Richard Bache and Thomas Forrest, and at the Lottery Office, No. 127 Race Street, opposite the German Church.

Montgomery wrote Rush that Nisbet and Davidson wished to buy lottery tickets, if they could get the back salary owed them by the College, or could in some way secure the tickets on credit. The former seemed to Montgomery out of the question, as the College had no money with which to pay them. He did think, however, that they might be given the tickets on the credit of the College, their price to be a first lien on that part of the lottery proceeds coming to the College in the final distribution of the results of the lottery. Whether Nisbet and Davidson got their tickets is not known; but an old receipt from Professor Ross shows that he received two tickets on these terms, and Nisbet and Davidson were probably equally fortunate.

The receipt reads: "Carlisle, 16th, October, 1790, Received of John Montgomery two City Hall and Dickinson College lottery tickets, No. 5260, 5746, for which I am accountable at 4 Dollars each to Dickinson College. Recd. by James Ross."

as article 16th order 1790 Recd of John Montgomery two City Hall & Dickinson College lottery tickets no 5260 5746 for which I am accountable at 4 Dollars each to Dickinson College Recd by James Ross.

Another receipt of the time shows that the College realized something at least from the lottery. It shows also that, even though the Faculty purchasers of lottery may not have bought tickets of lucky numbers, they profited by

the salary payment from the lottery proceeds. This receipt is from Robt. Davidson, and reads:

“Recd. 4th. July, 1791 of the Trustees of Dickinson College by the hands of John Montgomery, Esq. the sum of two hundred and ten dollars, on account of the lottery, as part of Salary as Professor in said College.
£78.15.0 Robt. Davidson.”

*Recd. 4th July, 1791, of the Trustees of Dickinson College,
by the hands of John Montgomery, Esq., the sum of two
hundred and ten Dollars on account of the lottery, as part of
Salary as Professor in said College.
£78.15.0*

Robt Davidson

But for the last phrase of the receipt one might hope that the Reverend Professor had drawn a prize from the lottery. Evidently, however, this was a receipt for salary long overdue.

The rough draft of one appeal to the state has been preserved in the papers of General William Irvine, and is interesting. It carries a sort of apology for their oft-repeated appeals, and gives a budget of college income and expenditure for the time, February, 1792. Beginning with the statement that the College has been “So far supported by the bounty of the State and great liberality of a number of individuals” the appeal continues:

The Trustees, therefore...make another application which nothing but the necessity of the case would have induced them to do, for they feel sensibly for the repeated trouble they have given the Legislature. They flatter themselves, however, that the notoriety, the value and high estimation the institution is rising into will be some apology.

A statement of the indispensably necessary annual expenditures is subjoined, and also the sum on which the Trustees can calculate to discharge the same with any rational degree of certainty.

There are four Professors and the Principal

One (the Principal) at per Annum	£416
Two at 150 each	300
One at 100	100
Contingent Expenses	50
	<hr/>
	866
Two tutors at 75 each	150
	<hr/>
	1016
Cr. By Interest coming annually from the U. S.	200
Tuition supposed to amount to	300
	<hr/>
	500
Balance against the College annually	£516

This calculation is made from the actual state of things at this moment . . . the Seminary must soon sink unless aided by permanent funds. Under this impression the Trustees have brought the case once more before the Legislature.

In 1786 there was a grant of £500 and 10,000 acres of land. Of this land Nisbet writes a friend in Scotland:

“The College has 10,000 acres of land, but nothing renders the Trustees more unhappiness than that they have not as yet been able to sell it, and they will certainly sell it as soon as they are able to find a purchaser.” This land was never sold, but was at times an expense for taxes. It was once used as security for loans from the state which were later canceled, and was finally returned to the state in exchange for a grant of money.

In 1791 the state granted £1,500; and in 1795, \$5,000—\$2,000 to pay debts of the College and \$3,000 for endowment, for which the College was to furnish free tuition to ten students in “reading, writing, and arithmetic.”

Eight years later, in 1803, a loan of \$6,000 was made by the state, without interest for two years, secured by mortgage on the 10,000 acres of college land; and in 1806 another loan of \$4,000 was made for the purchase of “books and philosophical apparatus.” Both these loans were to be secured

“out of the arrears of State taxes due from the County of Cumberland.” Instead of the \$10,000 granted, the two loans yielded the College \$8,400, all that could be secured from the arrears of taxes.

On the grant of the second loan of \$4,000, however, the state accepted as security for the two loans a mortgage on but half the college lands, and satisfied the mortgage on 5,000 acres. Acts of 1813 and 1814 granted delay in the payment of interest on the loans, and in 1819 the debt was cancelled by legislative enactment.

In 1821, on the transfer of its 10,000 acres of land to the state, the College was granted \$6,000 to pay debts and \$2,000 annually for five years for current expenses, deducting unpaid taxes on the land from the annual grants.

In 1826 another state grant was made, of \$3,000 annually for seven years, conditioned on a change of charter, so that not more than one-third of the Board should be clergymen and that annual report on the College should be made to the Governor and Legislature of the state.

This last grant introduced an element of state control, which resulted later in unfortunate conditions. Others than those originally and naturally controlling the College sought increased share in its government, dissensions arose in the Board, and a futile legislative inquiry followed. There was only a flicker of life left in the College, but even that was disturbed, and the second close of the College followed at the end of forty-nine years of its charter life.

UNFORTUNATE TRUSTEE INTERFERENCE

THE trustees allowed Nisbet and his Faculty little freedom of action, and the conditions under which he was compelled to work doubtless surprised him. In 1784, when the trustees were urging him to come to Carlisle, they wrote that they relied on his experience for the organization of the new institution, but he soon discovered that he was to have little influence in the organization of the College, and but little freedom in its administration.

The original charter forbade membership in the Board to the Principal or any Professor. The trustees accepted this with all possible implications, and by the time of Nisbet's reelection, in May, 1786, they had developed a policy which never admitted him or any of his successors to their counsels. He was their hired man, to do their bidding, with little influence on general college procedure. Had Nisbet been a more tactful man, and had he better understood American life, he might have changed this; but he had neither qualification. During all his administration, and for many years after, the trustees were often at variance with the Principal and Faculty, to the great disadvantage of the College.

Nisbet did not understand the developing civilization about him. He had no capable friend to advise him. But for their early separation, Rush might possibly have been such a friend, though it is doubtful whether Rush was constitutionally able to help the erudite but inexperienced Nisbet in such an emergency. So it came to pass that the trustees neither collectively nor individually ever coöperated with the man they had so urgently sought as their Principal. On the contrary, they criticised him and gave him orders. The fact that the government of the College gradually fell into the hands of a few local trustees made matters worse. They took their responsibility all too seriously and met in

special meetings to consider the most trivial matters of college life. President Dwight of Yale once asked Atwater during his administration what was the trouble with Dickinson College, and on learning the facts said that fifty meetings of a Board of Trustees during a year would ruin any college.

Nisbet openly resented the conditions, and some of the trustees recognized the justice of his position. Armstrong writes Rush in 1790, "Temerity and strength of expression . . . at . . . times require our regret, but . . . we who called him . . . have provoked the imperfection we now censure; for could we do him and his family any tolerable degree of justice . . . a more peaceable, or less troublesome person we could neither have expected nor wished for." While Armstrong was thus generally charitable in his judgment of the man they had brought into trouble, some others were not. The first college commencement was held in September, 1787, when Nisbet had not yet finally accepted the hard conditions of his life, and he apparently used this commencement to say such things about college conditions as to stir even the kindly Armstrong. A visitor in attendance at this first commencement on his return home writes Rush:

I returned last night late from Carlisle, after having spent a few days there very agreeably. I was present during the commencement and was much pleased with the exercises of the young gentlemen. There were nine graduates, four of whom appeared to have pretty considerable talents for public speaking. A stage was erected in the meeting house, upon which the trustees and professors sat, and the class of graduates ascended it in rotation as they exhibited. The house was much crowded and everybody seemed pleased until Dr. Nisbet had delivered his charge to the class. It was a laboured piece of composition, about as long as one of his sermons, but the ideas held forth in it will disgrace the Dr. and injure Dickinson College greatly. I wish I had time, before this opportunity (messenger) starts, to be very particular, but I have not, as he is now waiting for me. However, as the Dr. is to be in Phila. shortly, I must give you a few hints, as you were one of the subjects he pointed at. After he had given a little charge, in the usual manner, upon such occasions, he took notice of the situation of America, and pointed it out as a country almost void of honor, justice, or public faith; he then said that he was a

native of a country that was renowned for the most learning of any nation; and that he had been from his infancy upon the greatest intimacy with the first men in that country, all of whom he left to take charge of Dickinson College, which was at present a deserted institution, and that he alone was the main prop of it. The person he mentioned, who was most noisy, at first in its support, had now not only neglected it, but had become its persecutor and slanderer (I give you his own words). He then reflected upon some persons in Carlisle most grossly, maliciously and falsely, which I suppose you will be informed of as Mr. John Montgomery, Mr. King, Mr. Cooper and Mr. Black were present, with some others. The whole board of trustees condemn the piece. Old General Armstrong is very angry and Mr. Duncan, the lawyer, does not hesitate to speak of it, and abuse it in public company.

Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette in its issue of October 3 following this first commencement gives a full account of it, and while there were some curious features possibly, there is no hint that anything in bad taste had been spoken by Nisbet in his address to the class. One may wonder whether Rush's correspondent did not write Rush what the latter would probably like to hear, or at least magnify what Nisbet said. The *Gazette* said:

On Wednesday, the 26th ultimo was held the first Commencement for degrees in Dickinson College.

The Trustees, having obtained leave to use the Presbyterian Church on this occasion, the exercises with which a crowded assembly of ladies and gentlemen were very agreeably entertained, were exhibited in that large and elegant building.

At 10 o'clock in the morning, the Trustees, Professors & the several classes of students in College, proceeded in order from the College to the Church. When all had taken the places assigned them, the Principal introduced the business of the day by prayer. The following orations were then announced.

A salutatory oration, in Latin, on the advantages of learning, particularly of a public education, by Mr. John Bryson.

An oration on the excellency of moral science by Mr. John Boyse.

An oration on the importance and advantages of concord especially at the present crisis of the United States of America, by Mr. David M'Keehan.

An oration on taste, by Mr. Isaiah Blair.

An oration on the advantages of an accurate acquaintance with Latin and Greek classics, by Mr. Jonathan Walker.

After an intermission of two hours, the following exercises took place in the afternoon.

An oration on the pleasure and advantages of the study of history, by Mr. David Watts.

An oration on the nature of civil liberty, and evils of slavery and despotic power, by Mr. Steel Semple.

An oration on the various and wonderful powers and faculties of the human mind, by Mr. James Gettings.

The degree of Bachelor of Arts was then conferred by the Principal on the following young Gentlemen, viz: John Boyse, John Bryson, Robert Duncan, Isaiah Blair, Jonathan Walker, David Watts, David M'Keehan, James Gettings and Steel Semple.

This was immediately followed by an address of the Principal to the graduates in which they were affectionately exhorted to prosecute their studies with zeal and diligence . . . and to conduct themselves in future life in such a manner as might render them useful citizens, blessings of their country, and an honour to the College in which they were educated.

A valedictory oration in praise of science, and of the worthy patrons of literature, concluded with suitable addresses to the Trustees, Professors and Graduates, was pronounced by Mr. Robert Duncan.

The business of the day was concluded with prayer by the Principal.

The young gentlemen performed all these exercises with a propriety and spirit which did them great honour, reflected much credit on their teachers, and gave ground to hope that the sons of Dickinson College will at least equal in useful learning and talents, those of any other seminary.

The trustees at a distance seem to have been generally critical, and were possibly writing Rush on lines of his own thinking. King of Mercersburg was surprised that Nisbet would not cease his complaints, so injurious to the College and to his means of support. He had not yet learned that mere material consideration could not muzzle the outspoken Scot. Even the generally kindly Montgomery took a mild fling at the suffering stranger. He wrote at one time that he was glad that they could pay him part of the salary due him, as it would prevent his starving though not his complaining! He seemed unconscious of the fact that he was himself thus giving the very best grounds for all possible complaints.

Rush, however, was the most outspoken critic of them all, though he and Nisbet needed one another, and should

have been friends. Rush would have delighted in the continuance of the intellectual fellowship he surely had with Nisbet on his arrival in Philadelphia, and though estranged from him, he occasionally wrote Montgomery of his pleasure in chance meetings with Nisbet. Nisbet needed Rush as a friend and counsellor, and possibly even more for intellectual association, of which he had so little. The fact that these two men were thus estranged was a personal tragedy to each of them. Anything else, however, would have required that Rush be less imperious in his attitude toward his associates, or that Nisbet be less independent and less critical of faults and needs of both country and College. Yet if either of these conditions had been met, there would no longer have been a Rush or a Nisbet!

Individual trustees railed at Nisbet unofficially, but the Board took frequent official actions, not only without consulting him, but contrary to his known wishes. From the beginning they exercised to the full their legal right to regulate the internal life of the College, and a sorry mess they made of it. There were at the time no generally accepted principles for college government, and Rush, the most experienced of their number, urged them to keep a "watchful eye over their own authority and . . . decide the government of the College." He, at least, was set on one thing, that Nisbet should have little authority.

It was a period of constitution-writing for states and nation, and the trustees were in no way behind their time in this for the College. Their records teem with reports of committees on "Scheme of Education" and "Rules and Regulations," a half dozen or more in the first ten years. A beginning of this was made in August, 1785, while Nisbet was sick in bed, and many others followed. Only one of their sets of "Rules and Regulations" is recorded, and only one "Scheme of Education," both of the year 1795. We have also some of Nisbet's comments on their "Rules and Regulations," apparently the first ones of 1785. They were possibly not much worse than those in force elsewhere, but they were

bad enough; and Nisbet's comments show that the College would have had better "Rules" had the trustees listened to him.

The trustees ordered the entire college body to be present at the opening of work both morning and afternoon. Absence or lateness was fined from three to six pence. Student monitors called the roll twice daily and reported at a general college assize on Saturday morning, when all were required to be present to pay fines and have monitors appointed for the following week. Saturday absences cost the absentee "one-eighth of a dollar," six pence. Noise to disturb the study of others, cursing, playing cards or dice or any unlawful game, a mean or wilful falsehood, associating with improper companions, or anything of a kindred kind could result in admonition and possible suspension or even expulsion. The commission of "any infamous crime" was to be followed by immediate expulsion.

Commencement was held the last Wednesday of September, and was followed by one month's vacation. There was another month of vacation beginning the first Monday of May. May and October were the vacation periods, and college exercises continued through the summer months. Travel conditions made it difficult to visit home for even these vacations. As previously noted, Taney reports that he went home but twice during his three and one-half years in College.

Nisbet's comments are sketchy and desultory, but extracts show that he would have had rules at least reasonable. His criticism on the requirement of prompt attendance is based largely on the absence of timepieces to govern the movements of pupils. It was the age of grandfather's clock, which was probably about the only keeper of time, and Nisbet says, "The first [Rule] is utterly unpracticable, as we have no certain standards to determine when it is eight or nine o'clock. If the ringing of the Court bell is proposed, that can be no certain standard, being rung on many different occasions. And how can the Trustees expect that a bell will

be rung every day by their order in their absence when they could not effect the opening of a door yesterday, during their sitting!" Nisbet says of the fine for lateness, "The fine of three pence seems to be too high"; and the fine for another "Rule" he calls "very high."

There is a suggestion in one of Rush's letters that he looked toward a self-governing college community, and Nisbet's comments on one of the "Rules" lends color to the suspicion that he had secured the incorporation of the idea into the "Rules" formulated in August, 1785, during the last trustee meeting attended by Rush.

If the masters have many causes to hear, they cannot spend sufficient time in teaching. If there were public trials every morning, and we would be seldom without them, all the classes would be kept from their business several hours. May not the Trustees think it better, and more simple, as well as profitable, that every master should govern his own class, by such rules as he thinks proper.

These strictures on the "Rules" appear as an undated sheet in the Rush papers, and were probably sent by Montgomery to Rush for his information; whereat Rush seems to have written, "If you are united in the Board and act firmly, we shall do well and all will end well." He writes again, "I hear that he [Nisbet] has destroyed all good in the College and . . . become very popular with the boys at the expense of his brother professors. In this way Dr. W. [Witherspoon] played the tyrant . . . at Princeton. I shall bear a strong testimony against this conduct. . . . My only hopes now are that God will change his heart or take him from us."

All these "Rules" had to do largely with student control, but another kind of control was attempted in the way of an effort to modify Nisbet's methods of teaching, which was largely by lecture to be taken down in full by his students. April 17, 1794, the following trustee action was taken:

It has been represented to the Board that the Institution is likely to suffer very much by the complaints of many of the students who have

had their education here, on account of the labor of writing so great a number of lectures in the various branches of literature; that the dread of this circumstance has deterred many young men from coming to this place and occasioned their going to other colleges for completing their education; and that an ungenerous use has been made of the copies of these lectures in some instances, which have been communicated to others to be written out under care of private teachers, so to obviate the necessity of attending any public seminary. In consequence of the above representation, the Board had a conference with the principal and professors and it was agreed to recommend it earnestly to them to lighten as much as possible the labors of writing on the part of the students without abridging the plan of education or the time of attendance in college for that purpose; to oblige them to make transcripts and such epitome of the sciences as they may judge essentially necessary and examine and lecture as often as they find most useful to their students under their care.

Along the same line, in June, 1798, the Board directed the Professor of History to give certain definite lectures on government.

All institutions for the promotion of knowledge ought to be essentially useful in propagating such just political principles as are best adapted to insure the happiness of society, and as this Board is impressed with the highest esteem and reverence for all genuinely republican institutions and forms of government which are exempt from licentiousness, and which temper Liberty with order, Resolved, that the Professor of History and Belles Lettres for the time being be enjoined to deliver annually to the classes to whom he lectures on History *Four Lectures* on the preëminence of the Republican Form of Government to all others, to display its virtues and energies, its moral and intellectual excellence, the grandeur and perfection of our Federal System and State Institutions, and to point out any practicable improvements, to exhibit the defects of the ancient Republics compared with the enlightenment of Representation which pervade the American Codes, and which now renders this form of Government commensurate with any extent of Territory.

Other actions, perhaps even more annoying, were taken at various times. They instructed the Principal as to the time he should devote to general supervision, and the Faculty how often they should meet. A permission granted them to substitute admonitions for fines in certain cases really showed how little freedom of action they had. The badgered feeling of Nisbet probably had cryptic utterance

when in a report on the College he said that "endeavors were used to carry into effect the 'Rules and Regulations,' made for its government." "Endeavors" was all he could promise; full enforcement was impossible. The trustees certainly suspected, probably knew, that their "Rules" were not being obeyed, for they appointed a committee "to visit the College quarterly—or oftener, if they think proper—and to report how far the officers of the Institution conform to its laws." It is not surprising that Nisbet reported that he had "more trouble with the old than with the young," and that he found the "trustees ignorant of their duties."

Such a condition of friction was sure to issue in collision, and it did finally on a relatively trivial matter. In September, 1798, at commencement time, a committee on "the manner of conducting the public examination of those students who are candidates for degrees" made a report which was adopted, "That hereafter no degree of Bachelor of Arts will be conferred on any student of Dickinson College, unless a certificate in the following form be first signed by the Faculty." Here follows a somewhat complicated form of academic certification, and a further certification that candidates "have respectively demeaned themselves well during the time they have been students of Dickinson College, and that they are persons of good character as far as we know the same." One year later the faculty recommendation for degrees ignored this form and made recommendation as follows: "The professors of Dickinson College recommend the following young gentlemen, To wit . . . as prepared to receive the degree of A.B., they having gone through the usual course of studies, having demeaned themselves in general with propriety as to their moral conduct and having passed a public examination." The trustees thereupon "Resolved, That the Board cannot help expressing their dissatisfaction at the departure from the words prescribed in the resolution of the 28th Sept. ult., nevertheless agrees to receive the said certificate and to allow a mandamus to issue to confer the first degree in the

arts upon the above named young gentlemen agreeably to the charter."

The trustees then appointed a committee to revise the laws for the government of the College and the System of Education and to confer with the Faculty [an unusual instance of faculty coöperation being sought]. This committee reported in April, 1800, and advised change of the form of recommendation for degrees to conform with that used by the Faculty at the previous commencement. Thus the Board possibly "saved its face," but did not learn that trouble could be avoided by conference with the Faculty. Trustee attitude toward the Faculty was that of the suspicious schoolmaster toward his pupils, and there was never any of the generous give and take so necessary to successful coöperation of different bodies.

Reference to a Senior Class was first made as early as 1786 by Nisbet, when an early graduation was suggested by the trustees. For ten years thereafter, however, there was no clear division of the students into classes. There was no body of students set apart as candidates for graduation at the next commencement period. In 1796, however, the Board divided the students into four sections. There were three college classes—Freshman, Junior and Senior, and the Grammar School. At the same time they ordered also that "no student at his first entrance into College shall be admitted into a higher class than the Junior."

The standard thus set was quite advanced for the time, but later action shows either that it was not honestly formulated or was based on no fixed policy. It was really only a fine gesture, on paper. In 1798, two years after the adoption of this paper course of study, the trustees either ordered or permitted a college course of only one year's work, and classes graduated in 1799, 1800, and 1801, after only a single year's study. A class then graduated in 1803 after two years of college work.

The trustees appear to have taken many actions privately and by general agreement. This seems to have been one of

them. There is no trustee record of either the original action or its repeal, though a trustee advertisement of December, 1802, gives two years as the time required for the course. Most of the above facts appear only in a letter to Rush from Nisbet two months before the latter's death. Nisbet's letter is a statement on the reduction of his salary, which the trustees declared necessary because of the "decline of the Seminary." Nisbet, on the other hand, insists that the decline

... was brought about by their act for annual commencements, & restricting the time of study to one year, which diminished the tuition money by two-thirds, & took away more than three-fourths from the reputation of the seminary which declined apace. Mr. Thompson . . . as well as Dr. Davidson & Mr. McCormick had been obliged to vote for this restriction (to a one-year course), on a combination of the students, encouraged by the Trustees, which took place on the 7th November 1798. On that day, having examined a class of students newly entered, I went to College to begin my lessons, but no students attended, and Mr. Thompson, who was in the secret, told me that I might have a conference with the students at two o'clock, but that they had unanimously resolved that they would leave the College unless the time of study was restricted to one year. On this I wrote to Mr. Montgomery, President of the Trustees, to call a meeting to support their authority against the combination of the students, as the Trustees had a little before decreed that every student should enter as a freshman, that next year he should rank as a junior, & the following year as a senior, having borne these appellations respectively, for a year each. But now it was determined that they should be freshmen, seniors & juniors at once & complete all their studies in one year. Mr. Montgomery told me that the matter was referred to the faculty, & on meeting with them I found that the Trustees had taken their measures so effectually that all my colleagues voted for the yearling system. It was truly a wonder that any seminary could exist, after such a degradation, for in the years, 1799, 1800, and 1801, there were yearling graduates & yearly commencements. The Trustees, indeed, repealed their favorite act for yearly commencement but they did it privately, & as I only learned the repeal from a confidant of the Trustees, we took the liberty of detaining those students who had entered in November 1801 till September 1803 when we had our last commencement.

The College was evidently in the hands of men who knew little of education and who administered on no fixed policy.

They sadly needed the counsel of the "Old General" Armstrong, who had died in 1793. Despite their brave pronouncement of a three-year course in 1796, there were three "yearling" classes, 1799-1801, the entire College, new at the opening of the year, completing the course at its close! The College declined, of course, in every way, and Nisbet was unsparing in his comments on the resulting conditions. Apart from the material folly of their course, he accused the trustees of educational quackery, of attempts to deceive the public and the young men coming to the College, and of pandering to popular ignorance instead of maintaining respectable standards.

Samuel Miller, his biographer, reports somewhat fully Nisbet's comments on the subject before the students of the College. "You have studied at a time when the most false and absurd opinions concerning learning have been current, prevalent, and even rampant . . . opinions which suppose that a liberal education may be obtained in a very little time . . . that education may be completed in . . . a year; that two years is too long, and that a great part of the time of education ought to be allotted to amusement, etc." Miller also reports that in his last address to the students Nisbet said, "While this seminary continues to exist, though in degraded state, when compared with others, we shall think it our duty to do all that our circumstances permit . . . The teachers of youth among us, owing to the disgraceful subjection in which they are placed, cannot do what they would for the improvement of their pupils . . . to promise to do as much in one or two years, as other seminaries can do in three or four, is undertaking an impossibility. Men of learning and experience would disdain to use the language of quacks and imposters. . . . But when it is imposed on them by others, without their consent, their situation is singularly calamitous and their circumstances make them resemble a sect under persecution. But . . . the teachers of youth must be contented to do what they can, though they have it not in their power to do what they would." Some

governors of seminaries have appraised "the labors of learned men by the standard of mechanics and day laborers, and imagined that the education of youth could be conducted on agricultural and mechanical principles" and have forgotten that education "depends wholly on the will and inclination of the student, whether he will give . . . attention or not." When such opinions prevail, "It is impossible that learning should prosper. . . . The human mind . . . is not a mere passive subject, like arable land, wood, or metal, which can make no resistance . . . but it is a spiritual substance, endowed with understanding and will, the former, perhaps, very weak, and the latter very strong and obstinate. . . . It sometimes requires a long time to excite the attention of youth. . . . No one will learn anything against his will. . . . Those who imagine that a liberal education may be obtained in a year or two, do not seem to consider this, but to suppose that scholars will as readily receive instruction as the earth yields to the ploughshare, or the hot iron to the stroke of the hammer. . . . Many youthful minds resist instruction for a considerable time, and occupy themselves with any trifles . . . who, nevertheless, may afterwards be awakened to attention and be successful, and, in some cases, even highly successful in the acquisition of knowledge. . . . We must follow nature; we cannot contradict or control it. . . . Hence we may see the absurdity and folly of all short roads to learning. They all proceed on false principles and must end in miserable disappointment."

No member of any of these three yearling classes, 1799-1801, appears to have achieved distinction of any kind. There seems to be a sudden and sharp let-down in the character of the men who graduated. No other three classes of Nisbet's time could match the drabness of the record of these three.

As Samson shorn of his strength was forced to grind at the mills of the Philistine, so Nisbet robbed of opportunity to do his best took the treadmill course the trustees imposed. The same trustee hectoring and blundering awaited Nisbet's

successors in turn. Even as late as Atwater's administration the trustees required the "Principal and each professor to make report each Saturday in writing to the Secretary of the Board, personally delivered or left at his home, of all delinquents and absentees not satisfactorily accounted for to the principal or professors in whose class the delinquency takes place and in case the delinquent had been proceeded against before the faculty to report the judgment of the faculty thereon and how far the sentence has been enforced. If any penalty, suspension or other punishment has been directed and adjudged, the principal and each professor to furnish to the secretary a correct list on the first Saturday thereafter of the class or classes in his department." Finally conditions became unbearable. The entire Faculty resigned in 1815, and the College was closed one year later.

A recent writer seems not to understand why the first fifty years of the College were years of anarchy, while the later years were orderly. The answer is easy; the change of charter in 1834 gave the college Faculty authority, made it responsible for college government, and respectable before the student body; and thereafter the conditions of college life were altogether different.

Fifty years of nagging uncertainty in the administration of the College seemed necessary to show that there was a better way, which was finally found and incorporated in the charter. This long delay in finding the better way may be cause for regret, but hardly for surprise. It has taken many generations for governments of nations to learn that better results can be secured about the council table than in any of the old ways, and possibly all colleges, not Dickinson alone, may be congratulated on having learned the lesson at all.



EARLY PHOTOGRAPH OF WEST COLLEGE: 1865 (?)



"COLLEGE HALL," CHAPEL OF THE EARLY YEARS TO 1890
Northeast Corner; from a Photo-Ceramic made by Professor Charles Francis
Himes. Now Memorial Hall.

DICKINSON'S EARLY ALUMNI

WHILE Dr. Nisbet's work was done under extremely bad material conditions and with very limited means, the resulting early alumni of the College attained an amazing standing. Fortunately, one of Nisbet's private letters of 1791, to his friend Judge Allison of Pittsburgh, gives his own picture of the College, and shows how he deplored the conditions under which he was compelled to work. He says:

I would wish to say nothing of our infant seminary here, being hardly worth mentioning, unless I were afraid that you would complain of me for the omission. . . . I found only a grammar master and a teacher of mathematics here on my arrival, and those are still obliged to keep their classes open in the manner of schools, for the purpose of receiving students at all times.

Dr. Davidson teaches Geography, Chronology, English Grammar, the Elements of Oratory, History, as well as Astronomy, by exercise and examination. But, as on a change of masters he has got Natural Philosophy added to his department, he now reads short lectures on all these subjects, in such a manner as can be done to those who only remain at college for two years, and some of them not so much. My occupation is to read lectures on Logic, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy, to which I premise a short account of the Greek and Latin Classics; a course of lectures on the History of Philosophy, and another on Criticism; and sometimes explain a classic critically in the beginning, before my class is fully assembled. I oblige my students to write out all the lessons, *ad longum*, at least enjoin them to do so, that as they have not time to read, they may at least acquire a few ideas; and Dr. Davidson has lately conformed to this custom.

We have a sort of four classes; tho' as most of our students are at their own disposal, they attend several at the same time. You may be sure that all our lectures are very imperfect, but we are yet in the day of small things. Our students undergo an examination for seven days, and perform a public exercise before they receive a degree; and we endeavor to do as much for them as their short time will admit. I have only mentioned this seminary for your own private satisfaction, as I would not wish it to be known in Scotland what poor doings we are about in America.

His early reports showed the small beginning and many needs of the College, while later statements indicated how

little had yet been done to supply them and to give the College opportunity to grow, at the same time showing also his own disappointment at the outcome. He worked, as best he could, actually "making brick without straw." Any man would have been discouraged by such conditions, but it is amazing that a man like Nisbet could endure at all the conditions under which he was compelled to work, and win real victory out of apparent defeat.

In spite of discouraging conditions, the College was doing remarkable work in preparing men for positions of high service, and the distinction of Dickinson's alumni has been widely recognized. Isaac Sharpless, President of Haverford, and a recognized authority on Pennsylvania's biography, once asked the President of Dickinson College how the eminence of Dickinson's graduates could be explained. The *Cyclopedia of Education*, edited by Paul Munro of Columbia University, says: "The record of Dickinson's alumni is remarkable. With Princeton and Bowdoin, Dickinson is the only other American college possessing the distinction of having graduated in arts both a President of the United States and a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The list of other Federal judges, of members of state judiciaries, and of governors of states is surprisingly long, while it is doubtful if any educational institution of a similar size has furnished to its country as many as nine cabinet officers, ten members of the highest legislative body and fifty members of the Lower House. In addition, the Legislature of Pennsylvania began very early to contain a large number of Dickinson graduates." This distinction appeared in the early years, and it is doubtful whether any period of the College, or of any college, for that matter, has graduated a larger proportion of distinguished men, than did Dickinson under harassed and discouraged Charles Nisbet.

Early colleges were generally founded by religious bodies, openly in most cases and indirectly by the Presbyterians in the case of Dickinson, especially to train preachers. It might be expected, therefore, that the Presbyterian pulpit

would be greatly enriched by Dickinson's product, and such was the case. A two-volume Centennial Memorial of the Presbytery of Carlisle abounds in tributes to Dickinson-trained pastors and educators. The remarkable thing is that so many became famous in other fields. Only thirteen classes graduated during Nisbet's administration, but these classes furnished eight principals of academies, three college professors, and five college presidents; one state governor, three members of state cabinets, and nine members of state legislatures; five judges of lower state courts and seven judges of higher state courts; four United States judges, one being Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court; three United States Cabinet members; one foreign minister—the first one to go to Russia; seven members of the National House and four United States senators; sixteen educators and forty-four men in prominent public service. Sixty in all of the alumni attained distinction—nearly five per class graduated.

The Class of 1790 furnished a president for Ohio University; that of 1794, a president for each of the following, Jefferson, St. John's, and Washington Colleges; and in 1795, another president for Washington College. Ninian Edwards, of the Class of 1792, is little known to general history, though a recent writer says that he almost ruled Illinois in its early years. Edwards was a "member of the Legislature of Kentucky, 1795; admitted to the bar, 1798; Judge of the Circuit Court, 1803-6; Judge of the Court of Appeals, 1806-8; Chief Justice of Kentucky, 1809-18; United States Senator from Illinois, 1818-24; Governor of Illinois 1826-30." He died three years later, only fifty-eight years of age.

Roger Brooke Taney, of the Class of 1795, was Nisbet's most distinguished pupil. He became a member of both houses of the Maryland Legislature, Attorney General of Maryland, United States Attorney General, Secretary of the Treasury, and then was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States for his remaining twenty-eight years, 1836-1864. In this position he had two distinguished

Dickinson associates in high places, a trinity without precedent in our national history. Robert Cooper Grier of the Class of 1812 was his Associate Justice for eighteen years, continuing to serve as Justice six years after Taney's death; and James Buchanan of the Class of 1809 was President of the United States, 1857-1861, when both Taney and Grier were on the bench of the highest court of the country.

Fifty-seven of the men of Nisbet's time entered the ministry, and many of them rendered distinguished service in the work of the Church on our expanding frontiers. A good example of the work they did is that of Matthew Brown, who has left such an interesting account of his old college Principal. Brown was pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Mifflin and Lost Creek, 1801-1805; was first president of Washington College, 1806; and became president of Jefferson College, 1822. He received honorary degrees from Princeton and Hamilton College. Of the same class with Brown, Henry Lyon Davis was vice-principal and teacher of mathematics in St. Mary's County, Maryland, vice-president and professor of mathematics in St. John's College, and later its president. In this same Class of 1794, selected almost at random from among the classes, in addition to Brown and Davis, were three other ministers and four physicians; then came Callender Irvine, Superintendent of United States Military Stores by appointment of President Jefferson; Alexander Nisbet, a judge in Baltimore and railroad president, and William Noland, Commissioner of Public Buildings, Washington.

In addition to the already named, in every class but two of the first ten classes graduated under Nisbet, there was at least one man distinguished in civil life, not to mention educators and preachers. These two classes are those of 1788 and 1791; and no classes graduated in 1793 and 1796. In the class of 1787 was Jonathan Walker, Judge of the United States District Court; in that of 1789 was Charles Huston of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania; in 1790 was Francis Dunlevy, Judge in Virginia; in 1792 was Isaac

Wayne, son of General Anthony Wayne, and Member of Congress; in 1794 was Jesse Wharton, Member of Congress and United States Senator; in 1795 was William Creighton, Secretary of State in Ohio, Member of Congress, and United States Senator; in 1797 was Henry M. Ridgeley, Secretary of State in Delaware, Member of Congress, and United States Senator; and in 1798 was John Bannister Gibson, probably the most distinguished Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

Was it accidental that no such men of distinction are found in any of the classes from 1798 to 1802—the period of “yearling” graduates, as Nisbet called them? Those who graduated during this period had only one year’s college work, and it is probable that they paid the penalty for the folly of the trustees who planned it. They were not exposed long enough to the erudition and educational devotion of the learned Scot!

Nisbet, during his presidency, surely begot a virile progeny, and could he have seen of the travail of his soul, he would have been satisfied. As Taney said of him, as a teacher he tried to train men to think for themselves, and he seems to have succeeded.

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF DR. NISBET

NISBET was such an outstanding figure in the life of the College, and lived under such strange conditions in Carlisle, that it seems well to recover in some measure the conditions of his private life.

He first lived at the Works, in July, 1785, and though driven out by the malaria, returned in a few months. Here he remained for about eight years, apparently well satisfied with a "comfortable house and garden." He does write late in his stay of the "foul air of the marsh," and his daily trips to the College in Liberty Alley were at times over muddy streets and roads almost impassable. However, during his latter years at the Works, he had a horse and carriage.

The trustees were to furnish a house as part of Nisbet's salary. He was, therefore, subject to removal at their will, and when they decided that he should move into Carlisle, he greatly regretted the change. In 1792 he wrote Rush that he was to be moved from his "convenient house and garden here, which perhaps may be coveted by some person who may have interest to obtain it, or it may be an object to a malicious person to see me turned out of it, and I know by experience what wretched lodgings I had in the town."

His fears were realized a year later, for he writes a friend: "The Trustees removed us from the Works to the town on the first day of the month [October, 1793] under cover of friendship, but they let the heat of June, July, August, and September be past, that the foul air of the marsh might have an opportunity of working its proper effects on us in the first place, which sets the nature of their friendship in a proper light. They now talk of draining the marsh, that the Works may be a healthful habitation to those whom the Leaders of the People delight to honour, now when I am out of the question. My wife is contented with the removal, as she is nearer the market and the shops, and can walk to church in a few minutes. We are very much confined at present, occupy-

ing only two rooms and a closet in a house possessed by another family; but we have hopes given us of getting General Irvine's house which is a good one, as soon as he removes to Philadelphia, the time of which must be very uncertain at present, as the disease [yellow fever] still continues and we have no appearance of rain as yet."

Whether he secured General Irvine's house and where he lived for the remaining ten years of his life is not certainly known. However, even before he left the Works he had bought two lots opposite the present campus on High Street for £13.10s, and in 1800 he bought an adjoining lot for \$28.60—\$64.51 for the three lots. These two purchases covered most of the frontage from the present Alumni Gymnasium to College Street. This property was sold after his death by Mrs. McCoskry, his younger daughter, for \$1,000; and the greatly increased value shows that at least a modest house had been built, probably the one removed some years since to make room for the modern residence of Mrs. Abram Bosler. After 1799 he is on the tax-lists as owning a house, probably the one thus built, and he doubtless occupied it until his death in 1804. The lot was large enough to admit of both a "comfortable house and garden."

Nisbet may have been uncertain about his house, but he was always certain that he did not like Carlisle. As he described it, it was ill suited to its new responsibility of housing the College, and not very attractive for residence. It was, doubtless, in sorry contrast with the well-ordered Montrose of his Scotch home, but was probably a fairly good frontier town. Two early travelers give their views on the subject. Theophile Cazenove, in the journal of his travels through New Jersey and Pennsylvania, 1794, says of Carlisle that its "streets are wide and well laid out, not paved nor lighted yet. There are at present from 330 to 350 houses, about 100 of which are neatly built, and 2,400 inhabitants here. The inhabitants are generally Irish [Scotch-Irish probably meant], and a few Germans, who gradually are coming to live here, but the first inhabitants were all Irish."

Another traveler, Fortescue Cuming, in his "Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country," tells something of Carlisle as it was in January, 1807, thirteen years later than Cazenove. As he approached the town from Harrisburg, he says, "Dickinson College, a spacious stone building with a cupola, was directly before me, with the town of Carlisle on the left of it . . . the whole having a very good effect on the approach." "Old West" was then being built, but was outwardly complete, and one acquainted with Carlisle will readily understand how this imposing building must have impressed a stranger as he approached from the hill, on the northeast. It was the one considerable structure in the town, except the Presbyterian Church, and there were no great trees to hide the view. Cuming spent one night in the town and reports: "Carlisle . . . contains about three hundred houses of brick, stone, and wood. . . . The streets are wide and the footways are flagged or coarsely paved. . . . Dickinson College . . . has a principal, three professors, and generally about eighty students. It has a philosophical apparatus and a library, containing about three thousand volumes. It has £4,000 in funded certificates. . . . On the whole it is esteemed a respectable seminary of learning." Cazenove's estimate of houses is greater than that of the later Cuming, and was doubtless excessive, as was also his estimate of 2,400 people in the town. Between the two visits, 1794 and 1808, the footways had been "flagged or coarsely paved."

However bad the material surroundings of Nisbet's life may have been, the civic conditions were probably worse; for Carlisle was twice the scene of bitter strife, even to riots and bloodshed, during the first ten years of his residence there. The Federalists and anti-Federalists, the friends and enemies of the new Constitution, came to blows on the old Carlisle Square in 1787. Nisbet took a decided stand on the question, and vigorously espoused the Federalist cause from the pulpit of the Presbyterian Church in Carlisle, as from his Montrose pulpit he had defended the Colonies. This

may have made him friends, but enemies also, and Montgomery writes Rush, "It is said . . . that the Antis have now draped the effigy of Dr. Nisbet, notwithstanding the old gentleman is praying for them, that they may be cured of ignorance, barbarity and savage manners. This he does every Sunday, as it is uncertain what lengths these people may proceed." This was in 1787, when the adoption of the Constitution was an issue. Seven years later he narrowly escaped having his house attacked because of his position at the time of the Whisky Rebellion.

Nisbet naturally made enemies in such a divided community as Carlisle at this time. He was the friend of strong government, so greatly feared by many of the citizens, some of them leading men. In spite of this, however, his outstanding ability and character were such that he was called upon for various public services. He was, for example, the community preacher on the Fourth of July in 1787, just two years after his arrival in Carlisle. He received, the following day, a vote of thanks from those in charge of the services. A little later Nisbet and Davidson were appointed, with other citizens, to provide schools for those too poor to do so for their children.

Nisbet was also a prominent member of the Carlisle Library Company, organized in 1797, and was chairman of its original committee on rules. The fact that the company ceased to exist in 1806, two years after Nisbet's death, suggests that he may have been its chief driving force.

Nisbet apparently made few friends, for, as he said, he was "like a pelican in a wilderness." Even the trustees who ought to have been his friends seem to have stood aloof from him, and this troubled him.

Indeed, Nisbet was, with reason, suspicious of the trustees because of their concealment from him of the facts concerning the College. Some of his suspicions, however, must have been unfounded, must have been imaginary. In 1799 he writes Judge Allison of them: "Few students have appeared as yet, and I believe that many means are used for sending

them elsewhere, in order to lay the blame on me." This suspicion of Nisbet must have been groundless, but he held it, for the same charge appears in his last letter to Rush, four years later, in 1803, only a few weeks before his death. It is a long letter, too long for quotation, but it details events which must have profoundly affected his private life. The fact that he writes thus to Rush suggests that the two men had finally reached a better understanding. His letter was largely devoted to the financial questions in dispute between him and the trustees. They had offered him a case stated before the courts, but he feared this as two of the trustees were on the court to which the case might come. He therefore sought good legal advice. "If you could secure me a consultation *in forma pauperis*, for I am now a real pauper" he felt that it might be well.

Whether Rush secured him legal advice is immaterial, as nothing could have come of it; for only a month after he wrote the letter, Nisbet fell sick and three weeks later died, January 18, 1804, three days before his sixty-eighth birthday. As shown elsewhere, however, Nisbet's heirs secured settlement with the trustees for nearly \$7,000, due the dead Principal, but the man for whose services it was secured enjoyed none of these fruits of his toil.

It had been agreed on his resignation, in October, 1785, that the family should be returned to Scotland, at college expense. They did not return, and Nisbet was reelected in May, 1786, on the same terms as before. The trustee minutes show that they considered themselves in his debt for six months' salary when he resigned—April to October, 1785. Whether this was ever paid is not stated in their records, but Nisbet's letter to Rush says that they paid him only \$30 on that salary account, but later transferred it as a credit to themselves on his account after the reelection! If this is the case, the poor man got absolutely no salary for thirteen months, nor anything for the proposed trip home. He was badly treated; no wonder that he asked Rush to secure him competent legal advice.

Disagreement as to the amount of salary in arrears was not all, probably not his chief trouble, for what he did get came irregularly, and was altogether uncertain. He had no regular and reliable income. In 1799, after fourteen years of service to the College, he writes, "I am at present without money and deeply in debt, which I never was before, so that I might decently like a good citizen, take the benefit of the Insolvent Act, which, however, I have not yet done." He probably never did it, for on his death, five years later, he had some property, both real and personal. The chief assets of his estate, however, were the large salary claims on both the College and the Presbyterian Church of Carlisle, for which he had preached once each Sabbath. The inventory of his personal property shows that he had some fine old furniture, probably brought from Scotland in 1785.

The Nisbets had four children, two sons and two daughters. Tom, the oldest, was just reaching manhood when they came to this country. His letter to Rush in 1785 shows that he was probably hasty of speech. Nisbet's biographer, Miller, says that he was dissipated and died without reformation shortly after his father, having never married. Another son, Alexander, was born in 1777 in Scotland, graduated from the College in 1794, and was for many years a city judge in Baltimore, and a railroad president. This son had a family of seven children, three sons and four daughters; the sons, however, all died in early life. Nisbet's older daughter, Mary, was the first of the children to marry. In 1790, she became the wife of William Turnbull, of Pittsburgh, but later of Baltimore. He was a native of Scotland; and the happy settlement of his daughter did much to reconcile Nisbet to his life in America. This daughter became the mother of nine children, four sons and five daughters. All of these children except one son were living as late as 1840, and occupying "various highly respectable positions," as reported by Miller. Her family continues to this day in like enviable position in Baltimore and elsewhere. Mrs. Turnbull survived her father about twenty years. The

younger daughter, Alison, in 1795 became the second wife of Dr. McCoskry, a physician of Carlisle, and one of the original trustees of the College, so that she was much younger than her husband. They had six children, three sons and three daughters. Two of the sons died early, but the third graduated from the College in 1824 and was for many years the Right Reverend Samuel McCoskry, the greatly distinguished Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Michigan. One of her daughters married Rev. Erskine Mason, D.D., of New York, son of President John M. Mason of the College, 1821-1824; another daughter married Charles D. Cleveland, Professor in the College, 1830-1832.

Nisbet had much cause for pleasure in his family, though otherwise he led a hard life. A great scholar, on the word of many reliable witnesses; a great teacher, on the scant testimony remaining from his students and the undoubted distinction of their careers, he was yet forced to live at times uncertain as to his home, without money, and weighed down with an unaccustomed and embarrassing load of debt, and, possibly worst of all, lonely and doubtful of his security in even these poor conditions. All this must have cut the tap-root of zest for his work; yet, in spite of it all, he faced the hard conditions resolutely and fought a good fight to the end.

This end came unexpectedly, though he had been in poor health for some time. On January 1, 1804, he contracted a severe cold which aggravated his old symptoms, and, as previously noted, he died on the 18th. Notwithstanding the treatment he had received at the hands of the trustees, his death evoked from them, and, in fact, from the entire community, overwhelming evidence of their deep respect for the great man who had sojourned among them for so many years. All became mourners and multitudes attended his funeral, at which a fitting eulogy was delivered by Dr. Davidson, his co-laborer for nineteen years in both Church and College.

Two days after his death there was a meeting of the Board attended by eight trustees, the local members only,

at which it was decided to continue the work of the College on plans proposed by Dr. Davidson, and it was then "Resolved unanimously, That the Board feeling the deepest regret at the death of the Rev. Dr. Chas. Nisbet, late Principal of the College, recommend that each of the trustees, professors and students wear a scarf of black crepe on the left arm for the space of thirty days as a mark of respect to his memory."

Thus ended the official recognition of Nisbet's death. Rush would have had them do more. He wrote to Montgomery on February 9, 1804, "The death of Dr. Nisbet was expected in our city before your letter came to hand. He has carried out of our world an uncommon stock of many kind of knowledge. Few such men have lived and died in any country. I shall long, very long, remember with pleasure his last visit to Philadelphia, at which time he dined with me in company with Dr. Dwight of New Haven and Dr. Cooper of our State. His conversation was unusually instructing and brilliant, and his anecdotes full of original humor and satire. I hope the Trustees have done honor to his memory by a funeral sermon and by defraying the expenses of his interment. Who is to be his successor?"

Miller's biography says that the trustees would have erected a monument to his memory, but had not the means to do so. They possibly felt that they needed to be honest rather than generous with the meager funds at their disposal. They did nothing further in recognition of Nisbet's services to the College, but a suitable monument was finally placed over his grave in the "Old Graveyard," by his younger son, Judge Alexander Nisbet. On it was a Latin epitaph which has been ascribed to various persons, but most probably was composed by John M. Mason, fifth president of the College, 1821-1824. It follows on page 158 as translated, supposedly by one of his old pupils, Chief Justice John Bannister Gibson. Gibson pronounced it "a modest but faithful delineation of the qualities of Dr. Nisbet's mind and the virtues of his heart."

(EPITAPH)

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
 OF CHARLES NISBET, DOCTOR OF SACRED THEOLOGY
 WHO BY THE UNANIMOUS INVITATION
 OF THE TRUSTEES OF DICKINSON COLLEGE,
 THAT HE MIGHT UNDERTAKE THE DUTIES OF PROVOST,
 EMIGRATING FROM SCOTLAND, HIS NATIVE COUNTRY
 CAME TO CARLISLE IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1785
 AND THERE THROUGH NINETEEN YEARS
 WITH THE HIGHEST APPROBATION
 DISCHARGED HIS OFFICE.
 A MAN, IF SUCH EXISTS, OF INTEGRITY AND PIETY,
 IN ALL LEARNING MOST ACCOMPLISHED.
 OF READING IMMENSE, MEMORY FAITHFUL,
 IN REAL ACUMEN OF WIT, PLEASANTRY AND SATIRE
 BY UNIVERSAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT, TRULY ASTONISHING;
 BUT TO NO MORTAL OFFENSIVE, EXCEPT TO THOSE
 WHO UNDER THE CLOAK OF PHILOSOPHY, INSULT RELIGION.
 BUT TO HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS,
 FOR MANNERS, SWEET, BENIGN, CHEERFUL AND SOCIAL,
 BELOVED WITHOUT A RIVAL.
 HE GENTLY BREATHED OUT HIS LIFE ON
 THE 17TH OF JAN. 1804.*

Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette, in its edition of Wednesday, January 25, 1804, following Nisbet's death said of him:

On Wednesday* last departed this life, the Rev'd. Dr. Charles Nesbit, Principal of Dickinson College, in the 68th year of his age. (A feeble sketch of the many virtues and excellencies of this great and good man, will, at present, only be attempted.)

Nature had lavishly bestowed on him every quality necessary to the completion of a finished scholar; a memory tenacious, almost beyond belief; a solid Judgment; and a correct Taste—nor had nature lavished those qualities in vain; unwearied application and study, not often united to genius like his, had improved, to the utmost, every faculty of his mind.

He was among the best classic scholars of the age. With an incredible facility, he could repeat, all the beautiful and striking passages of the classic authors. The ease, with which, he acquired languages, afforded him, a new and never ending source, of learning and information, besides the learned and oriental languages, the modern languages of Europe, were, familiarly his own. His mind was stored, with all the knowledge, books could afford. He was indeed a prodigy of learning, yet he was

*The 17th of the epitaph as here translated is clearly wrong. It should be the 18th.

modest and humble, no pedantic display, no fastidious exhibition of talents, nothing dogmatic or magisterial in his manner, or conversation. He instructed all around him, by the extent of his information, and delighted them, by the simple and unadorned manner, in which it was communicated.

He was ever, truly pious and devout, without austerity, and without superstition. As a Divine, the palm of knowledge was yielded to him by all. His discourses in the pulpit were solid, argumentative and perspicuous. The instruction, and not the applause of his hearers, was his great design. His Theological Lectures contain a more complete and perfect body of Divinity, than has yet appeared, in the World. As a Teacher, his Lectures opened a mine of Learning and Knowledge, communicated, in a manner, to attract the attention of the student, and to impress on his mind, the important subjects, of which he treated. It was not a mere technical jargon, but the discussion of the subject in a nice, masterly and animated manner, occasionally enlivening the driest topic, and most abstract question, with those happy strokes of true wit and genuine humour, so peculiar to himself. His pupils looked up to him, as a Being of a superior order, as one born of the Delight, Instruction and Improvement of Mankind. Their regard was not the cold respect of a scholar to his master, it rose to veneration. He considered them all as his children, they loved him as a father; and this veneration was not cast off, at the college door, but increases, as they advance in years, and become more capable of appreciating the value of his instructions.

In the endearing relations of Husband, Father and Master, he exhibited a bright example of true tenderness, affection and kindness, as a Friend and Neighbour, it will be difficult to supply his loss. His hand was ever open to relieve distress, and his heart ever dissolved at the woes of others; and his uncommon openness of temper, sincerity and ardency of expression, had on any occasion given momentary dissatisfaction, yet his pure integrity and universal benevolence reconciled all. To his breast malice was a stranger. He never lay down or rose from his pillow, with ill will, in his heart, to any of the human race.

As a companion . . . where shall we see his like again? Never more shall we be delighted with his bright sallies of pure wit, his effusions of true and genuine humour, the lively anecdote, the smart repartee, the keen irony, the delicate, chaste rebuke, the pointed but never ill-tempered satire.

The simplicity of his manners and the innocence of his life were uncommon. In the common affairs, concerns and traffic of this world he was a very child.

Let it not be forgotten, that he possessed a sincere and ardent attachment to true liberty; that in his native country where the cause of America had but few friends, and at a time when the event of the contest with Britain appeared to the sanguine, uncertain. Tho' from his general

temper, averse to all political strife, and, unappalled by the surrounding danger, his tongue, as it ever did, uttered what his honest heart conceived. Conversant with every age and nation, and intimately acquainted with the nature of man, of liberty, such as best secures the freedom of the nation and the happiness of the individual. He was ever the firm friend and most zealous advocate.

It may, with justice and truth be said of him, in the words of his countryman, the incomparable Thompson,

*In him the human graces all unite:
Pure light of mind, and tenderness of heart;
Genius and wisdom; the gay, social sense,
By decency chastised; goodness and wit,
In seldom meeting harmony combin'd;
Unblemished honour, and an active zeal
For pure religion, liberty and man.*

But let us not mingle with our regrets, for such departed worth, too much selfishness: He was fitted for a better world, where grief cannot assail, nor sorrow ever enter.

Another American paper, of unknown name and place, said of him, "Dickinson College has suffered an immense loss. . . . Though an adept in verbal criticism, his acumen was directed not so much to words, as to things; to language, as to sentiment. . . . A memory singularly retentive . . . a judgment singularly penetrating. . . . His imagination was lively and fertile, his understanding was equally acute and vigorous, and his erudition at once very deep and wonderfully diversified. His morals were unimpeached, his temper cheerful, his manners gentle and unassuming. *As a Principal of a College, as a minister of the Gospel, as a true patriot, or a good man, 'quando ullum invenies parem?'*"

This quotation appears in the preface to a monody in Nisbet's honor published in Edinburgh in 1804, its author doubtless one of his Edinburgh correspondents. The preface continues: "The author hoped some masterly hand would have paid a tribute of this nature to the memory of the Rev. Dr. Charles Nisbet, but, as no such mark of merited respect has been shown either in Great Britain or America, he makes

the following feeble attempt, in honor of learning, talent, and worth."

A few of the several hundred lines of the monody must here suffice:

Is there no poet with a muse sublime,
 No bard inspired in the wide western clime;
 Oh, could no son, Columbia, touch the lyre;
 Oh! could not excellence one bosom fire?

.

Did Nisbet live to light your land so long;
 And could he die without a funeral song?
 For you I blush.

.

Lured more by art than dignities or gain;
 He bade adieu to Scotia's happy plain;

.

Braved seas and storms, the vast Atlantic cross'd,
 And soon, too soon, by wilder billows toss'd;
 By pride, by ignorance, by folly's sneer;
 Envy in front, and malice in the rear;
 By jealousy, malign, with looks aghast,
 And base ingratitude's all chilling blast.

.

O Western World, your noblest boast is fled!
 Let tears of woe embalm the *sacred dead*.

.

Angelic Shade! thy great example high,
 May teach us how to live, and how to die;
 Like thee, meet joy or woe, delight or pain,
 Like thee, to suffer, and like thee, to reign.

DICKINSON STUDENTS ADDRESS PRESIDENT ADAMS

THE political pot boiled fiercely in Pennsylvania in its early years, and this was especially true of Carlisle. The public meeting of 1774 in protest against the Boston Port bill has already been mentioned. In 1787 there were two bloody riots at the center of the town over the adoption of the Constitution, with two burned in effigy—Dr. Nisbet probably one of them. The following February there was “An address to the Minority of the late State Convention—From Union Society.” This minority had opposed the new Constitution. The “Union Society” must have been other than the college Literary Society, which was founded a year later. The address, too, was signed by “James Sterritt, Sec.”, and no such name appears on the College rolls of the time. There were many local sympathizers with the Whisky Rebellion in 1794, and even when Washington appeared with the army on the march west to suppress this outbreak, the local population was much divided. To avoid strife, the trustees early forbade the discussion of political differences by students of the College.

None of these things, however, would call for mention in the story of the College but for an incident during the Presidency of John Adams. The actions of the French Government had greatly stirred the American people, and encouraging addresses were showered upon President Adams. An address of this character, from the students of the College, came into his hands through Senator Bingham, a college trustee. The address was as follows:

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Sir: The students of Dickinson College, assembled again after the usual vacation embrace the earliest opportunity of making a public and explicit declaration of their sentiments, and resolutions at this important crisis. Beleiving that unanimity is of infinite importance to the citizens of these States and that the most unequivocal proofs of such unanimity

should now be given by the citizens at large; we the pupils of a seminary in which we are taught highly to prize our own government and all the blessings of liberty and law, feel it our indispensable duty to cast in our mite into the treasury of public sentiments.

It cannot be supposed that youths of our standing can be deeply versed in political disquisitions;—yet we know what *liberty* means; we, can in some measure estimate the importance of *national dignity* and *independence*; and we cannot be ignorant of facts which are known to all the world.

We are sensible that we live under one of the most free and happy governments that has ever existed; and we also know, that we are indebted, under the smiles of Heaven, to the virtue and patriotism of our fathers, for the blessings we enjoy.

We trust that we inherit their spirit, and shall always imitate their noble example.

Confiding in the wisdom and integrity of our rulers, and trusting that their aim has ever been to preserve this country from any participation in the convulsions of Europe, we join with our fellow-Citizens in approving and applauding the measures that have been pursued to maintain a state of neutrality and peace.

But what do we hear,—proclaimed by the highest authority?—That a nation, whom we were taught from our earliest years to call our friends, intoxicated with their victories and apparently grasping at universal empire, says, “We shall no longer be a neutral power; that we must retract our complaints of their hostile measures and become in fact their tributaries, before they will admit our envoys to an audience.” Such language and demands cannot fail to rouse the indignant spirit of Americans, and create an indissoluble union of all, both old and young, in the common cause.

The yielding of a single point in obedience to unjust and imperious requisitions, would, in our opinion, be to surrender our independence:—for a tame submission to one insult would only invite a repetition; till we should at length become a most degraded people, and our name, as a nation, be blotted from the records of time.

While such terms of peace and reconciliation are urged by the minister of France, the organ of the Directory, as appear to our government to be inadmissible, and the depredations on our commerce still continue and increase, we conceive that to neglect the means of self-defence, would be highly criminal, and evidence a most abject spirit.

If there be any among us who would still plead the cause of France, and attempt to paralyse the efforts of our government, they ought to be esteemed our greatest enemies.

For our part, we reject with abhorrence every idea of submission to the will of a foreign power and shall cheerfully leave the pleasing walks of science, when the voice of our country calls, to repel every attack upon our rights, liberty and independence.

To you, Sir, we look up with confidence, as the patron of science, liberty and religion; rejoicing to find that in every thing which flows from your pen, you consider these as the choicest blessings of humanity which have an inseparable union, and without whose joint influence no society can be great, flourishing and happy. While we ardently pray that the American republic may always rise superior to her enemies, and transmit the pure principles of liberty to the latest ages we join at the same time with the millions of Americans in beseeching Heaven to bestow its choicest blessings on our beloved President.

One might look for a formal acknowledgment of such a letter, but could hardly expect a reply. However, there is a letter from the President, which is a real reply to the substance of the letters sent him. President Adams writes:

TO THE STUDENTS OF DICKINSON COLLEGE.

Gentlemen: I have received from the hand of one of your senators in Congress, Mr. Bingham, your public and explicit declaration of your sentiments and resolutions, at this important crisis, in an excellent address.

Although it ought not to be supposed, that young gentlemen of your standing should be deeply versed in political disquisitions, because your time has been occupied in the pursuit of the elements of science and literature in general, yet the feelings of nature are a sure guide in circumstances like the present.

I need not, however, make this apology for you; few addresses, if any, have appeared, more correct in principles better arranged and digested, more decent and moderate, better reasoned and supported, or more full, explicit and determined.

Since the date of your address, a fresh instance of the present spirit of a nation, or its government, whom you have been taught to call your friends, has been made public: two of your envoys have been ordered out of the republic—Why? Answer this for yourselves my young friends. A third has been permitted or compelled to remain—Why? to treat of loans, as preliminary to an audience, as the French government understands it—to wait for further orders, as your envoy conceives. Has any sovereign of Europe ever dictated to your country the person she should send as ambassador? Did the monarchy of France, or any other country, ever assume such a dictatorial power over the sovereignty of your country? Is the republic of the United States of America a fief of the republic of France? It is a question, whether even an equitable treaty, under such circumstances of indecency, insolence and tyranny, ought ever to be ratified by an independent nation—there is however, no probability of any treaty, to bring this question to a decision.

If there are any who still plead the cause of France, and attempt to paralyse the efforts of your government, I agree with you, they ought to be esteemed our greatest enemies.

I hope that none of you, but such as feel a natural genius and disposition to martial exercise and exertions will ever be called from the pleasing walks of science to repel any attack upon your rights, liberties and independence.

When you look up to me, with confidence, as the patron of science, liberty and religion you melt my heart.

These are the choicest blessings of humanity,—they have an inseparable union; without their joint influence, no society can be great, flourishing or happy.

While I ardently pray that the American republic may always rise superior to her enemies, and transmit the purest principles of liberty to the latest ages, I beseech Heaven to bestow its choicest blessings on the governors and students of your College, and all other seminaries of learning in America.

JOHN ADAMS.

President Adams was the last Federalist President. The extreme actions of his administration, culminating in the Alien and Sedition Laws, probably sounded the death knell of his party. The execution of these laws was made the basis of effective attack on the Federalists, and Thomas Cooker, later to be Professor in the College, served a prison sentence under them. Who knows but that these many addresses encouraged the actions of Adams which caused his fall?

This student address to President Adams seems to have been from the entire student body, though there were doubtless Anti-Federalists in the College, despite Nisbet's teaching of "high-toned Federal politics," of which Rush complained. The address was sent in the first flush of American protest against the practical demands of France that America accept France as her suzerain. Two years later, when the campaign was on to defeat Adams and elect Jefferson and Burr, the case might have been different. The college body would doubtless have divided, and might not have endorsed Adams so heartily.

ROBERT DAVIDSON—1804—1809

THE INTERREGNUM

DR. NISBET was gone. The king was dead, and there was no heir apparent. The Faculty continued with one of its members to superintend the College. Two days after Nisbet's death the trustees met and received a communication from Dr. Davidson. "It was resolved that the Plan of Studies as recommended in his statement be pursued until otherwise directed." The next meeting was held three months later, April 12, 1804, when it was "agreed that Dr. Davidson shall have the superintendence of it [the College] and shall call and preside in the Faculty," and that a committee of ten visitors should "attend the Quarterly Examination, consult with Dr. Davidson and the other Professors respecting the mode of conducting the College, and to render them any assistance for the promotion of order." The salary of each of the three Professors—Davidson, McCormick, and Borland—was fixed at \$400 per year, "to commence from the 1st day of January last past," a total of \$1,200, the same as Nisbet's salary alone prior to 1801.

These were the only actions of the time and Davidson was never formally chosen Principal, though referred to as such in later trustee records. The trustees may have been willing to do without a Principal for a while to live within their income, but there seems never to have been any purpose to make Davidson the Principal. Even Rush, Davidson's warm friend, wrote Montgomery in June, "I am glad to hear you do not purpose to elect a successor to Dr. Nisbet immediately. Dr. Davidson is equal to all the duties of a Principal, and he deserves well of the Institution. He can for a while fill Dr. Nisbet's place with his present salary."

The serious matter, however, was not any informality of Davidson's appointment, but the fact that he could not fill Nisbet's place. Davidson did fairly well under the circumstances, the man and the conditions considered. But the

conditions were difficult, and he was now called upon for service in the College for which he was not especially fitted. He was primarily a preacher and a church administrator, and but secondarily a teacher, and with seemingly little taste or fitness for college administration. The preacher and the teacher were then very often combined, and so it was with Davidson; but when it seemed wise to cease one of his activities, probably on account of health, he dropped his work as educator and gave his last three years to his first love, the pastorate of a church, in which he rendered always acceptable, even distinguished, service.

Robert Davidson was born in Elkton, Maryland, in 1750, graduated at the College of Philadelphia in 1771, taught a short time in the academy at Newark, Delaware, was licensed to preach in 1772, ordained shortly thereafter, and became assistant pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. He also became instructor in the College of Philadelphia, and was soon advanced to the professorship of history. These two positions he held for about eleven years. On April 27, 1785, he became pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Carlisle, and so continued till his death, December 13, 1812.

It seems probable that he came to Carlisle expecting to become a member of the Dickinson Faculty, for Rush and Montgomery had so planned, and Davidson was assistant pastor of Rush's church in Philadelphia. Rush wrote the Board for its meeting in June, 1785, strongly urging Davidson's election. "I wish much to see him occupy a Professor's chair among us. . . . His habits and reputation as a professor in the University of Philadelphia will add greatly to the credit of our infant seminary. [His subjects] are so familiar to him that . . . he could favor us . . . for three or four months in the year without detracting in the least from his duties to his congregation." He was not elected at this June meeting, but Rush was present at the later August meeting, at which he was elected.

In the meantime, July 4, Dr. Nisbet had arrived in

Carlisle, and later shared the duties of Davidson's pulpit after the latter undertook college work, the pastoral work being done by Davidson alone. On Nisbet's resignation, in October, 1786, Davidson was made Acting Principal, and was urged by a few for the vacant principalship, to which, however, Nisbet was himself reëlected the following May. Davidson, as the popular pastor of the leading church for many years, doubtless became the outstanding member of the Faculty, and, after the death of Nisbet in 1804, he served as Acting Principal until September, 1809, when, on Atwater's arrival, he resigned all connection with the college Faculty and shortly thereafter became a trustee.

Davidson's work in the College is not easy to estimate, though he served it for twenty-four years, as long as any other man till Charles F. Himes retired in 1896 after a service of thirty-one years. Davidson was no letter writer, to tell something of his real self, as were Nisbet before him and Atwater after him, and no biography of him has ever been written. Rush was his friend, but only one letter from Davidson on college affairs is found in the Rush collection; and this in 1808, just before the close of his college connection. In this solitary letter, written about the election of a man to succeed him at the head of the College, he wrote that he did not see how a new man's salary could be paid, unless there should follow a large addition of students, and his judgment proved correct. He adds just one personal word, "Having now a fine son to provide for I would be willing still to continue a professor, as formerly." This "fine son" was his only child.

Davidson was a leader in the Presbyterian Church, and many of its publications recognize this fact. They say little on his college relation, however, beyond perfunctory reference to his "long and faithful service" thereto. Some of the more intimate facts of his life are found in a brief epitome, furnished by his son for Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit." This son, Robert Davidson, Jr., D.D., says of his father, "While a student of Divinity, he was seized with a

dangerous illness, at a farm house in the country, and owed his life to the assiduous care and kind nursing of a daughter of his host. She became so much attached to her patient, that, upon his recovery, he ascertained that there was but one way in which he could repay her. Such was his gratitude, and such his nice sense of honor, that, finding her happiness seriously involved, he married her, although she was older than himself, had not the slightest pretensions to beauty, and moved in an humble sphere of life. She made him, however, for over thirty years, an excellent and devoted wife. She came to a tragical end, being killed by the overturning of a carriage." This first wife, Abigail Davidson, died in 1806, and she lies buried in Carlisle's "Old Graveyard," by the side of the younger Davidson's mother. On April 30, 1807, Davidson married the daughter of John Montgomery, thirty-one years his junior, who died March 30, 1809, on the birth of a second son, as is recorded on her tomb in the same cemetery. The following year, April 17, 1810, he took to wife Jane Harris. The facts about these marriages are found in the son's story and in Davidson's own record of the marriages he performed during his long pastorate—a most interesting document. The son's story continues: "A few months previously [before his resignation in 1809] he had lost his second wife after a brief union of two years, Margaret, daughter of the Hon. John Montgomery of Carlisle. He gave vent to his grief in a touching monody. . . . He composed a dialogue in blank verse in honor of the patrons of the College, which was spoken in public and printed. . . . He made himself acquainted with eight languages . . . was well versed in theology, and was familiar with the whole circle of science. But astronomy was his favorite study . . . [he] invented an ingenious apparatus, called 'a cosmosphere or compound globe,' presenting the heaven and the earth to view on the same axis. . . . He was also an amateur and composer of sacred music, and in his earlier years, amused himself with executing pen drawings, some of which . . . are great curiosities. They have deceived connoisseurs, and have

been taken for engravings, even by . . . (a) distinguished painter. In 1796 he was the eighth Moderator of the Church."

Davidson died in 1812, and his remains lie buried by the side of his second wife. His tomb records:

"In Memory of Robert Davidson, D.D., a blessed peacemaker, as a pastor winning and affectionate. He filled the chair of History and Belles Lettres first in the University of Pennsylvania, then in Dickinson College, of which he was some time the vice-president.

"Universally loved and respected. Departed this life in Christian hope Dec. 13, 1812—62y.

"Beside him lies his wife Margaret of a character equally amiable and of a piety equally pure.

IN MEMORIAM PARENTUM
FILIUS POSUIT
HOCCE MARMOR."

Dr. Davidson was a man of scholarly tastes and of wide knowledge in several fields of learning, and was also of musical and artistic temperament, though other interests compelled him to sacrifice these pursuits to the sterner duties of life. He was somewhat given to rhyme and verse, of which a remaining evidence is a rhyming geography of sixty pages, to which Taney makes caustic allusion in a quotation soon to follow. His real literary remains are found in his numerous sermons and lectures, the latter largely on scientific subjects. Nisbet wrote that Davidson had adopted his own plan of reading lectures to his classes, and Taney and Buchanan, two of his old students, give estimates of him, the one as a teacher, the other as an administrator. Atwater, his successor, tells of college conditions when Davidson ceased his college work.

None of these, however, show him outstanding as an educator. Roger B. Taney, of the Class of 1795, and later Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1836-1864, says:

Dr. Robert Davidson, the vice-principal, was not so popular as Nisbet; indeed, he was disliked by the students generally, and some of them took

no pains to conceal it. Yet he was not harsh or ill-natured in his intercourse with us. But he was formal and solemn and precise, and, in short, was always the pedagogue in school and out of school. He lectured on history, natural philosophy, and geography. He had written a rhyming geography, which as well as I remember contained about fifty printed pages, printed in octavo, and was an enumeration of the countries and nations of the world, and the principal rivers, mountains and cities in each of them.

This little book we were all required to buy, and to commit to memory, and repeat to him in lessons. It filled our minds with names of places and general descriptions, without giving us any definite idea of their position on the globe, or their relation to one another; and, as may well be supposed, some of the lines and rhymes were harsh and uncouth enough to be the subject of ridicule. But he was very vain of it, and always showed his displeasure if any one was not master of the lesson, and could not repeat it readily, word for word, as he had written it. And what rendered the whole thing more absurd in the eyes of the students, he had composed what he called an acrostic upon his own name, by way of introduction, and this he required us to commit to memory, and to repeat to him with the rest of the book. Nothing lessens the respect of young men for a teacher more than a display of vanity, and they are always prompt in seeing it and amusing themselves with it. And nothing, I think, impaired the respect of the class for Dr. Davidson more than his acrostic. . . . It was so often and habitually repeated among us in derision that, although I have not thought of it for forty or fifty years, yet, in recalling the scenes of my college life, I find I can still repeat all of it but the last four lines. . . .

Round the globe now to rove, and its surface survey,
 Oh, youth of America, hasten away;
 Bid adieu for awhile to the toys you desire,
 Earth's beauties to view, and its wonders admire;
 Refuse not instruction, improve well your time,
 They are happy in age who are wise in their prime.
 Delighted we'll pass seas, continents, through,
 And isles without number, the old and the new;
 Vast oceans and seas, too, shall have their due praise,
 Including the rivers, the lakes, and the bays.

The rest has dropped from my memory.*

*The four lines forgotten by the aged Justice are:

"Dividing the Continents, then, into Parts, and Arts,
 States next will we trace, and their Mountains
 O'er Cities, and mountains, and Deserts, will fly;
 Nor leave unadmird the bright Wonders on high."

The title page of this geography is in part as follows: "Geography Epitomized, or a Travel round the World, by an American. Philadelphia MDCCLXXIV."

James Buchanan, of the Class of 1809, and President of the United States, 1857-1861, is another witness on Davidson, especially on the conditions of the College during the last two years of his administration. In his own story of the early years of his life, Buchanan gives his experience as a student in Dickinson College. He says:

After having received a tolerably good English education, I studied the Latin and Greek languages at a school in Mercersburg. It was first kept by the Rev. James R. Sharon, then a student of divinity with Dr. John King, and afterwards by a Mr. McConnell and Dr. Jesse Magaw, then a student of medicine, and subsequently my brother-in-law. I was sent to Dickinson College in the fall of 1807, where I entered the Junior class.

The College was in a wretched condition; and I have often regretted that I had not been sent to some other institution. There was no efficient discipline, and the young men did pretty much as they pleased. To be a sober, plodding, industrious youth was to incur the ridicule of the mass of the students. Without much natural tendency to become dissipated, and chiefly from the example of others, and in order to be considered a clever and a spirited youth, I engaged in every sort of extravagance and mischief in which the greatest proficients of the College indulged. Unlike the rest of this class, however, I was always a tolerably hard student, and never was deficient in my college exercises.

A circumstance occurred, after I had been a year at college, which made a strong and lasting impression upon me. During the September vacation, in the year 1808, on a Sabbath morning, whilst I was sitting in the room with my father, a letter was brought to him. He opened it, and read it, and I observed that his countenance fell. He then handed it to me and left the room, and I do not recollect that he ever afterwards spoke to me on the subject of it. It was from Dr. Davidson, the Principal of Dickinson College. He stated that, but for the respect which the faculty entertained for my father I would have been expelled from college on account of disorderly conduct. That they had borne with me as best they could until that period; but that they would not receive me again, and that the letter was written to save him the mortification of sending me back and having me rejected. Mortified to the soul, I at once determined upon my course. Dr. John King was at the time pastor of the congregation to which my parents belonged. He came to that congregation shortly after the Revolution, and continued to be its pastor until his death. He had either married or baptized all its members. He participated in their joys as well as their sorrows, and had none of the gloomy bigotry which too often passes in these days for superior sanctity. He

was, I believe, a trustee of the College, and enjoyed great and extensive influence wherever he was known. To him I applied with the greatest confidence in my extremity. He gave me a gentle lecture, the more efficient on that account. He then proposed to me, that if I would pledge my honor to him to behave better at college than I had done, he felt such confidence in me that he would pledge himself to Dr. Davidson on my behalf, and he did not doubt that I would be permitted to return. I cheerfully complied with this condition; Dr. King arranged the matter, and I returned to college, without any questions being asked; and afterwards conducted myself in such a manner as, at least to prevent any formal complaint. At the public examination, previous to the commencement, I answered without difficulty every question which was propounded to me. At that time there were two honors conferred by the College. It was the custom for each of the two societies to present a candidate, and the faculty decided which of them should have the first honor, and the second was conferred upon the other candidate as a matter of course. I had set my heart upon obtaining the highest, and the society to which I belonged unanimously presented me as their candidate. As I believed that this society, from the superior scholarship of its members, was entitled to both, on my motion we presented two candidates to the faculty. The consequence was that they rejected me altogether, gave the first honor to the candidate of the opposite society, and the second to Mr. Robert Laverty, now of Chester County, assigning as a reason for rejecting my claims that it would have a bad tendency to confer an honor of the College upon a student who had shown so little respect as I had done for the rules of the College and for the professors.

I have scarcely ever been so much mortified at any occurrence of my life as at this disappointment, nor has friendship ever been manifested towards me in a more striking manner than by all the members of the society to which I belonged. Mr. Laverty, at once, in the most kind manner, offered to yield me the second honor, which, however, I declined to accept. The other members of the society belonging to the senior class would have united with me in refusing to speak at the approaching commencement, but I was unwilling to place them in this situation on my account, and more especially as several of them were designed for the ministry. I held out myself for some time, but at last yielded on receiving a kind communication from the professors. I left college, however, feeling but little attachment towards the Alma Mater.

Davidson's successor, Atwater, becomes an incidental witness also on the same subject. Atwater reached Carlisle in September, 1809, and his first report to Rush on the College said, *inter alia*, "The college building is elegant and spacious. . . . Its state is very much that of a broken city

down and without walls. I find that almost everything is to be begun anew." He wrote thus on October 28, 1809, and in a later letter of April 22, 1810, he repeats part of the above, and adds material items. "I found the institution, as I expressed it to you, as a city broken down and without walls, students indulging in the dissipation of the town, none of them living in the College, and the religious state of things appeared to be, in a great measure, out of regard and estimation. . . . Dr. D. [Davidson] appeared timid as to making any opposition, and without that influence so desirable in a clergyman of his standing."

These three testimonies were given under very different conditions—Chief Justice Taney's nearly sixty years after he left college, and his college impressions must have been very decided; President Buchanan's probably within ten years of the facts recorded, and he may possibly have been still smarting under his sense of injustice done him, though he was already a man of large affairs; and President Atwater's was given as a calm survey of college conditions when Davidson withdrew. Atwater's survey, too, was sent to Davidson's ardent friend of many years, and there is no evidence that Rush resented it in any way, as he remained Atwater's intimate friend till his death in 1813. The agreement of three such men seems to prove that Davidson was no great educator.

A fair estimate of Davidson in the College would probably be that he rendered no specially distinguished or outstanding service at any time, but that he was always a man to be relied upon, one to whom they could turn in any emergency. As teachers, Nisbet and Ross, possibly others, were probably his superiors, as was Nisbet in the administration of the College and in handling young men. Nisbet had "less trouble with the young than with the old," probably chastising the student deserving punishment by his caustic, scourging wit, while Davidson called upon the trustees to help him in the maintenance of order. There is recorded a thrust of Nisbet at Professor Ross's methods of discipline

when he came upon him "horsing" a boy, and said "Tut, tut, mon, ye'r putting in knowledge at the wrong end." The conventional Davidson was probably not equal to anything of the sort with either teacher or pupil.

Davidson won the title of "Blessed Peacemaker" by his kindly handling of the divided Presbyterians of Carlisle, bringing into one church those who were at variance and in two churches at the beginning of his pastorate. The gentler methods of Davidson's administration were probably unsuited to the needs of the College at that time, when strong-hand methods seemed the rule. Then, too, when he undertook the work of administration he had reached the age when many men of the gentle mold are wont to seek lines of least resistance and put on the protective covering. Under all these circumstances, one may readily trust Buchanan's and Atwater's pictures of a lawless, disorganized student body at the close of five years of Davidson's administration, and it is therefore not surprising that he seems not to have been considered for the succession.

After Nisbet's death, there were frequent trustee actions showing belief that the College needed a Principal, but there appears to have been no suggestion of Davidson for the place, as had been the case twenty years before. He was a great man in another field. It is given to few men to achieve preëminence in more than one field, and Davidson had secured undoubted position in his first and final love—the Church.

One would fain know many things about Davidson's administration which are hidden from us. Did he, as an American to the manner born, have better understanding with the trustees than his predecessor, a stranger to American ways? Nisbet thought him the confidant of the trustees, even during his own administration. Did he bring harmony to college administration? There is no answer, though we may guess that Davidson was amenable to trustee authority, that he "went along," as Nisbet charged that he and other members of his Faculty had done when they approved a

college course of only one year. There is, at any rate, no evidence during his five years of any friction.

The annals of Davidson's five years are few and unimportant. The old grammar-school building on Liberty Alley was abandoned for the new college building. Two changes in the Faculty occurred. John Hayes succeeded Borland as tutor in 1805 and as Professor of Languages in 1807, and Hayes was succeeded by Henry R. Wilson in 1809.

Hayes was the first graduate of the College to become one of its professors. He resigned in 1809 and became pastor of two near-by Presbyterian churches, Silver Spring near Mechanicsburg, and Monaghan, later called Dillsburg. His pastorate closed in 1814, probably because of ill health, as he died in 1815. In 1807 Hayes published "Rural Poems, Moral and Descriptive," printed by Loudon, of Carlisle. This little volume, still on the college shelves, was probably undisturbed for a hundred years, until recently an ornithologist of a distant university made inquiry concerning the man because, forsooth, he seemed first to have observed and recorded in one of his poems a certain peculiar marking of one of the local birds!

Probably no serious attempt to strengthen the College was made during Davidson's time. All tacitly accepted it as a period of exhaustion, and waited for something to turn up. Rush wrote Montgomery in 1804 that no money could be had in Philadelphia. Disasters of all sorts had "exhausted the charity of our well-disposed citizens. Suppose you renew your application to the Legislature for a fresh gift from the State. I cannot bear the thought that the labors and censures, which some of us incurred in establishing the College, should become abortive. It has already given several excellent characters to all the learned professions. It will, I hope, give many thousands more." The following year he was more hopeful on report of good progress being made on the college building, and writes, "I was much gratified in learning of the advanced state of our building. . . . By all means sell our lands. . . . Are you sure they have not been sold for

taxes? . . . How gladly would I meet you on the day of the completion of the College! With what pleasure would we review our mutual labors for it, and with what delight would we look forward into futurity, and anticipate its future usefulness to Church and State." A year later, 1806, Rush writes, "I rejoice in the completion of our College, and the prospect of the revival of its reputation and usefulness. The stock you have concluded to sell bears a good price." Two of the shares of United States Bank stock sold for \$1,113.50. In 1807, however, a letter to Montgomery gives a gloomy view of financial conditions, together with some of his views on education and his distrust of a society with many educated people. Thus wrote Rush:

The sooner we pay our debts the better. But such is the effect of the apprehensions of war with Great Britain in consequence of the late events in the Chesapeake, that no sales of stock of any kind can now be made. If Dr. Nisbet's heirs will take our stock at par or near it, for our debts to them, it should . . . be transferred to them. . . .

Suppose we add ten dollars a year to our tuition money. . . . Education in the present state of our country on an intensive plan should be considered a luxury; and placed only within the reach of persons in easy circumstances. Unless this be the case the proportion of learning will soon over-balance the proportion of labor in our country. Let a plain education . . . reading, writing and arithmetic be made as cheap and general as possible, and even free of expense to those who are unable to pay for it. In a Republic no man should have a vote who is unable to read.

Accept my congratulations on the marriage of your daughter to Dr. Davidson. I heard of it with pleasure. They both deserve to be happy.

Early in 1808, following the death of John Dickinson, Montgomery wrote Rush as to a possible bequest to the College, and in March Rush replied, "The day after . . . your letter I wrote to Wilmington . . . [and learned that he] had not left a single bequest out of his own family." Montgomery, later in August, suggested another plan to get a gift from Dickinson sources. He writes, "What would you think of Mr. Logan, son-in-law to the late Mr. Dickinson [for Mr. Dickinson's successor as a trustee]? He perhaps . . . might give us some hundred dollars. You see that I am

mercenary. I acknowledge it." Of this also nothing came, for Mr. Logan never became a trustee, and they probably got none of his money.

This letter of August, 1808, was apparently Montgomery's last one to Rush, for he died the following month. His letters to Rush over a period of twenty-five years, and Rush's letters to him, the earlier ones fortunately returned to Rush and preserved, are the main sources for much of the intimate college history for this quarter of a century. The original old guard was going. The "Old General" Armstrong went first in 1793; Nisbet ceased from labor in 1804; Dickinson followed early in 1808; and in September of the same year Montgomery drops out of the picture. Henceforth, new names appear occasionally in the Rush correspondence, names of men who were to keep him, the real founder of the College, in touch with college movements, especially the names of Dr. James Armstrong, son of the "Old General," Judge James Hamilton, a trustee for twenty-five years from 1794, and others.

The first of these new correspondents was Hamilton, who wrote in July, 1808, "The College will be soon completely finished, and provided with books and philos. apparatus—if not splendid, not mean or contemptible . . . \$800 per year will be put into the hands of (a new) Principal, a sum sufficient to pay two-thirds of the Professors. . . . After (paying) for the electric machine and air pump we shall have about 3500 doll. which we are obliged to vest in books and apparatus." This money for "books and apparatus" remained from a state appropriation for that specific purpose. The "completely finished" of the College meant only the outer building.

The election of a Principal to succeed Nisbet was doubtless delayed for financial reasons, and though there was no money to pay a Principal, for years, the trustees indulged in the pleasure of anticipation. Rush was asked to talk the matter over with proper parties at the meetings of Presbytery in Philadelphia, and a committee was instructed to

consult the heads of various institutions to get suggestions. A grant of \$40 for expenses for this committee suggests that even personal visits may have been contemplated. Various trustees wrote individuals who might be considered, including Hunter Lee, late of the Princeton faculty, and Samuel Miller, of New York; but both of these men were unwilling to undertake the task. Despite this, however, Miller was elected in September, 1808, salary to be \$1,000, but he declined. He knew the situation all too well. Thirty years later, in his "Life of Nisbet," Miller wrote, "After the decease of Dr. Nisbet, Dickinson College continued still further to decline. Its deplorable poverty, and the still more deplorable want of zeal, harmony and efficiency on the part of the Board of Trustees ensured an existence, if continued, sickly and feeble."

After the declination of Miller, President Dwight of Yale recommended Jeremiah Atwater, President of Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont; and in June, 1809, he was unanimously elected. On representations of Rush to him, Dr. Atwater accepted, and reached Carlisle the following September to begin his work. Davidson resigned on the arrival of Atwater, and after declining a request to continue to teach some few subjects in the College, was elected a trustee. So closed, in 1809, Davidson's official connection with the Faculty. The administration of Atwater followed.

JEREMIAH ATWATER—1809—1815

A BRAVE FIGHT LOST

JEREMIAH ATWATER was of an old New England family. The first of his line in this country landed in Boston in 1637 and soon joined others in founding New Haven. There he was born on December 27, 1773; and to New Haven he returned from Carlisle after his Dickinson experience and there lived until his death on July 29, 1858, in his eighty-fifth year. His family gave generously to Yale, and one of his descendants says: "I sometimes think that if my ancestors had been less generous our family at the present time would be financially better off." He says "financially," probably mindful of the fact that it is the generous character of these ancestors which still abides in their descendants and makes them the worth while people they are.

Atwater graduated from Yale in 1793 with an honor which gave him the three-year graduate scholarship, going to that "Senior . . . who passes the best examination on . . . Greek and Latin authors." He also won in 1794 and 1795, at the close of the first and second years of his scholarship, the premiums established by Noah Webster (Yale, 1778) for the best essay. At this time, 1795, he became tutor at Yale and began the study of theology with Timothy Dwight, who had just become President of Yale.

He evidently won Dwight's approval, for on his recommendation the young tutor, after four years' service at Yale, became Principal of the Addison Grammar School at Middlebury, Vermont, which was established in 1799, as preliminary to a college. Middlebury College was chartered in 1800; and Atwater, then in his twenty-seventh year, became its first president. This position he resigned in August, 1809, to become Principal of Dickinson College, to which also, as has been stated, he was chosen on the recommendation of

President Dwight. He hesitated to accept but was persuaded to do so by a letter from Benjamin Rush, as appears in a letter he wrote Rush: "Till I rec. your letter in the spring of 1809 nothing was farther from my mind than the tho't of engaging in a literary institution so far south. In 1794 I was applied to to instruct the Quaker Grammar School in Philadelphia but was dissuaded from accepting the offer by President Stiles, who, for various reasons, was opposed to it, and advised me never to go as far south, if I meant to be useful or respectable as an instructor!"

Another letter from Atwater to Rush, on July 18, 1809, prior to his leaving Middlebury for Carlisle, is of so fine spirit as to beget admiration for the man and the wish that he might have been spared the experiences of the next six years. He writes: "I have not been in the habit of claiming great things for myself. My support here has been a slender one. I have learnt here to make sacrifices for the good of the institution & to practice some self-denial. Indeed without something of this spirit the institution here, being unendowed, never could have flourished at all. I do not go to Carlisle with the expectation of getting rich. I intend to devote myself to the institution, & if I am supported, it is sufficient. I think I shall labour zealously in coöperation with others to build up the institution & make it useful."

He reached Philadelphia and the home of Rush in September, 1809, and shortly thereafter journeyed to Carlisle in time for commencement. On October 2 he writes Rush of his trip from Philadelphia: "We left Philadelphia about 12 o'clock on Wednesday, & rode about 20 miles that day on the turnpike towards Lancaster. We found the pavement rather bad for horses. The next day we tarried at Lancaster. On Friday we arrived at the banks of that beautiful river, the Susquehanna, with which we were much delighted. On Saturday we went about 2 miles out of our way to see Harrisburgh, & then rode to Carlisle. . . . The college building is elegant & spacious. . . . But with respect to the internal affairs of the College its state is very much that of a city

broken down & without walls. I find that almost everything is to be begun anew. I find many discouragements; but nothing great & arduous is accomplished without patient industry & laborious efforts. . . . ”

Judge James Hamilton, Secretary of the Board, writes Rush in December following, telling of the impression being made by Atwater and the hopes for the College raised by his conduct. “It will give you great pleasure, I am persuaded, to learn that Mr. Atwater has conducted himself in such a manner, since his arrival here, as to give general satisfaction to the trustees, as well as to the inhabitants of this village & its vicinity. His affability, admirable disposition & courteous manners conspire to render him a most agreeable member of society, & to insure to him the esteem & friendship of all who have the pleasure to know him. I make no doubt but these amiable qualities, joined to his great industry & capacity to teach, will make him equally popular with the students in college. We may now, I hope, flatter ourselves that our college, in due time will surmount every obstacle that stands in the way of its progress, & that under the auspices of Mr. Atwater & its other professors it will arrive at a pitch of eminence, not inferior to that of any other seminary in this country. . . . ”

These letters from Atwater and Hamilton picture Atwater's beginnings in Carlisle; and his own frequent letters to Rush are the principal source from which estimates may be formed of the man and his methods. Like Nisbet, he wrote pretty freely, but his letters were very different in tone. He was slow to mention difficulties and did so generally only after he could offer plans to meet them. This was possibly due to the very different temperaments of the two men, but it may have been because Atwater's letters were to Rush, his tried and trusted friend through all the years.

Atwater was deeply religious and aimed to have a college in which religion was respected and honored. Despite the pæans of those who idealize the Carlisle of one hundred

years ago, the records show that it was pretty raw, and that religion and morality certainly were at a low ebb, so that young men in the College were under constant temptation from their surroundings. Atwater wrote: "I fear that there is not virtue here to make a college flourish. It is certain that there is great hostility manifested against the cause of religion, which students ought to be taught to respect. . . ." In October, 1810, he writes: "We have had two duels here lately and last week an instance of suicide—a Mr. Brown . . . men of considerable property." Following the dueling habit either of the town or the country at large, there were at least two duels between college students, one early in Atwater's administration, another shortly after its close. Principal Atwater saw that conditions were bad and set himself to the task of their cure. He was assisted by Henry R. Wilson, Professor of Languages in the College, 1809-1815, elected a month earlier than Atwater himself. Dr. Davidson, however, who retired on Atwater's coming, appeared to Atwater timid or unwilling to join him in the efforts for reform. He outlines his problem in a letter to Rush, dated April 22, 1810: ". . . I found the institution as I expressed it to you, as a city broken down and without walls, students indulging in the dissipation of the town, none of them living in the College and the religious state of things appeared to be in a great measure out of regard & estimation. Indeed, I believe that it has been on the decline here for nearly 20 years. . . . Drunkenness, swearing, lewdness & duelling seemed to court the day, instead of hiding themselves from observation. Three persons, the past winter, have come to a violent death. In short, everything concurred to demonstrate the absolute need of a reformation and that it was the height of folly to expect that a college could flourish without a different state of things in town. . . ."

How far he was able to change the moral and religious tone of the town does not appear. Carlisle was a town of considerable importance, in which lived many influential people, proud of their history and traditions. Such a place

was not likely to change much on the call of a young stranger coming to them from distant New England. About the only evidences of change were his statement that Judge B [probably Brackenridge who had opposed him] had lost some of his following, and the further statement of Atwater toward the close of his first year that "The Trustees are beginning to think that religion will not hurt the College, as some few of them [did?]."

The second problem confronting the new Principal was that of discipline and order within the College itself, and to this he set himself with equal zeal and persistence. Buchanan's story of his own time under Davidson makes it clear that he had here a real problem. A letter to Rush of March, 1811, states his case and outlines his plans:

... my whole confidence of success (under Providence) depended on introducing some of the regulations of the New England colleges; particularly those relating to the all-important point of discipline, without which a college is a pest, a school of licentiousness. I considered the want of discipline the rock on which the southern colleges had split. . . . I came here & found no discipline, the young men their own masters, doing what was right in their own eyes, spending their time at taverns & in the streets, lying in bed always till breakfast, & entirely from under the eye of any college officers, caring nothing for any power which the faculty ever exercised. In fact, there was no government that could be called such. The faculty generally called in the trustees when there was any punishment to be inflicted & while they threw off responsibility, lost at the same time the respect of students. The trustees were convinced that it would not answer to have the students scattered over the town; but that the greater part must be collected at college, & there kept under some sort of discipline. But I saw that it would not answer to collect them there, without having persons on the spot to keep them in order & see that they were quiet & studious in their rooms. This office is performed in the N. E. colleges by tutors. The trustees being unable to procure tutors in town, I found it necessary to give up the house I had taken in town, & for the first year act as a tutor myself, at least in part. . . . So, after having for 10 years had tutors under me, I consented to take the place of one myself—in sailor's language, to become once more a hand before the mast. The students, however, increased from about 30 to 100, & I informed the trustees at commencement in Sept. last that I must move out of the College & that they (in my opinion) must put one or two tutors into the College in my place. . . .

This they did not do, and Professor Wilson opposed this and seems to have thwarted the plan. He had troubles enough, not only in the town, but with trustees and Faculty as well. He had to labor with the trustees to have the college building used as a dormitory, which seems to have been first done in his time; and then to get their approval of his fundamental tutorial policy, at first approved but later blocked by the influence of Professor Wilson. It is doubtful whether he was ever able to try tutors in the building, though he himself lived in it for a time. Rooms in the building were temporarily assigned to Professor Cooper. Most of the time students were rooming in the building without any proper supervision. The natural result followed, though what sort of disorders occurred we may only guess from trustee action growing out of an outbreak in May, 1813. Under the charter of the College, trustees alone could inflict any worth while penalty, so that this particular case came before the trustees on report of the Faculty that certain acts of "wanton, wicked and malicious mischief had been committed in the College and other disorderly proceedings therein, and that the perpetrators thereof had not yet been discovered." The trustees "Resolved That the students now lodging in the College be called on by the faculty to subscribe the following declaration as a condition of further residence therein: 'We do solemnly promise upon our word of honor each for himself that we will not do any injury directly or indirectly to the college buildings, doors, windows or to any part of the said building, or appurtenances on any property therein, nor permit any person whatever to commit the same as far as it is within our power to prevent the perpetration thereof.' The trustees have observed with great concern the injury the College is receiving from acts of wanton mischief and filthiness. . . . If the disgraceful filthiness should be repeated and the offenders cannot be discovered that the faculty be empowered to exclude from the occupation of apartments in the college as lodgers all the students. . . . The Board will adopt prompt measures for the discovery and bringing to

justice either by criminal prosecution or civil action the offenders who have committed the late daring outrages in the College."

A sidelight has been thrown on the college picture of the time in a chance letter of 1812. Oliver Hurlburt, one of Atwater's old faculty at Middlebury College, paid Atwater a visit at Carlisle, and in a letter to President Davis, Atwater's successor at Middlebury, gives a paragraph on Atwater's circumstances: ". . . At Carlisle we spent a night with Dr. Atwater. Both Dr. and Mrs. Atwater appeared very glad to see us. He has a good number of students, and is situated in a delightful country; yet very unpleasantly situated. The officers of the College are at sword's points with each other. The students are lawless as the whirlwind. The inhabitants of the country, it is said, are of the stubborn race of the Scotch-Irish. . . ." This was about what was to be expected from such conditions as existed. Two students, "lawless as the whirlwind," engaged in a duel shortly before, February 22, 1812, as shown by a brief trustee record of that date. On report of the Faculty in respect to this affair, the Board "Resolved, therefore, That George Oldham be expelled and he is hereby expelled from Dickinson College. . . . The trustees considered it but an act of justice to declare that his conduct in every other instance has been such as to meet their approbation and must express their regret that this sentence should be passed on a young man who had been so fair and conduct so exemplary."

Atwater had faith in the College. In January, 1810, he wrote Rush, "This is the only institution that bids fair to flourish between Philadelphia and the mountains." His faith seemed justified, for the College rapidly increased in numbers, though it is not quite clear how they were divided between college and grammar school.

At Davidson's last commencement, in 1809, 16 graduated, and 26 students remained of the full enrolment of 42. In July, 1810, Atwater wrote Rush that student prospects were good; and the student body grew rapidly. There were about

90 in November and 110 the following May of 1811. The number increased to at least 120, as shown by his report of February, 1813, that their numbers had fallen from 120 to 90.

It seems most probable that this decrease in the college enrolment was due to a combination of circumstances, in which the disorders previously mentioned bore a considerable part, and to which the peculiar constitution of the Faculty at this time had a considerable relation, as will hereafter appear. That the College did attract students of importance is noted when we read that there were enrolled two sons of the original Du Pont, from Wilmington, and two nephews of President James Madison. The lack of harmony between the trustees and the Faculty continued, so that when, in 1815, Atwater resigned, the Faculty "informed the Board that the number of students in the College, including this class, is 42." Of these, 15 were then to graduate, from which it appears that the college roll had thus shrunk to what Atwater found it six years before.

The Faculty difficulties were accentuated through the inclusion about this time of two peculiar personalities. Dr. Aigster was employed as Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy in September, 1810. His services terminated in a somewhat spectacular fashion in the following May, by reason of his interference in the marital affairs of two residents of Carlisle, claiming the young lady for himself. Atwater's comment on the situation, in a letter to Rush, suggested that Dr. Aigster was deranged, to which he adds that "it was not universally agreed that he was deranged, but it was considered that his usefulness was at an end. Of his own accord he proposed leaving town."

Thomas Cooper was selected as successor to Dr. Aigster, and his association with the College seems to have been unfortunate in all respects, despite his great ability. A consideration of his history indicates that he was a stormy petrel while in Dickinson College for four years, as he had been and was to be before and after the Dickinson experience.

Cooper was indeed a remarkable man. Born in England

in 1759, he studied at Oxford without taking a degree. An adventure in Paris, in 1792, where he was in close association with the French Revolution for two months, sent him back to England, where his disputatious methods continued. Seemingly devoted to democratic principles, and losing hope for England, he came to America in 1793. Returning to England very shortly, he came again in 1794 to America, settling at Northumberland, Pennsylvania, where he lived with the famous Joseph Priestley until the latter died, in 1804. He had no difficulty in again getting into trouble, inasmuch as he was accused and tried under the Alien and Sedition Laws, convicted, fined, and imprisoned. Learned in the law as well as in chemistry and the natural sciences, he served, 1801-1804, as a member of the important Luzerne Commission to settle the disputed claims to land in the Wyoming Valley. In the latter year he was appointed judge of one of the Pennsylvania districts, so continuing until April, 1811, when because of his peculiarities, the Legislature requested the Governor to remove him.

The coming of this man to Dickinson was attended by characteristic difficulties. Principal Atwater was opposed to his appointment, but he seems to have been promised a relation to the College by two trustees, Watts and Duncan, one of whom had previously acted as his legal adviser before the Legislature. These men had a conference with Cooper in Bedford shortly after he had been removed as judge, and they there apparently promised him the college appointment at \$800 per year, in consequence of which promise he was elected on June 17, 1811. The peculiar lack of concord among the trustees was shown by the presentation of a resolution of protest against his election, on September 28, 1811, signed by John Lynn, Robert Cathcart, James Snodgrass, D. Denny, Joshua Williams, D. McConaughy, and John Creigh, upon which the Board took no action. An attempt to bring Cooper's peculiar theology into harmony with the Calvinistic principles of the College was made by the pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Mercersburg, John

King, a trustee who was too old to meet with the Board. He wrote adroitly to Cooper, suggesting that the latter prepare and deliver a course of lectures "showing the uses and ends of science and pointing out its subserviency to religion in common with all the other works of God." This letter seems to have had no effect, for during September, after the election of Cooper, Atwater wrote Rush thus: "The whole affair seems like a sort of infatuation." Later, Principal Atwater wrote of Cooper's attitude toward a most unfortunate duel between two students that "He took the side of the students too much & has been applauded by them. There was something intemperate in his manner and disrespectful to the Faculty. Perhaps it was because he had been drinking quite freely."

When it is remembered that this forceful, erudite, brilliant man was openly at variance with the principles of the church which dominated the College, it is not hard to understand the reason for the decline in the number of the student body during the four years of his incumbency. That even his chemical technique was questionable appeared in a peculiar accident which blinded him for a time when he suddenly uncorked a bottle in which he had added nitric acid to bismuth.

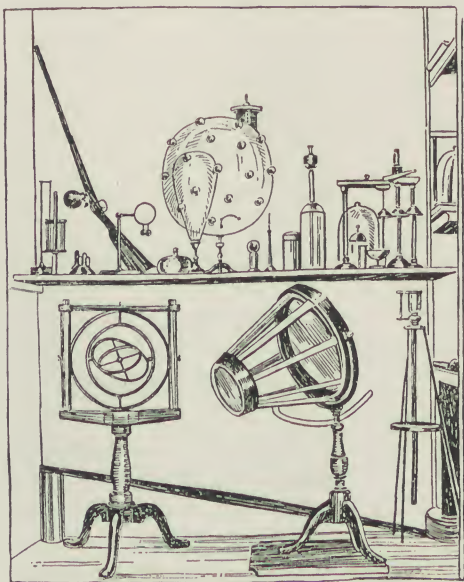
At the close of the college year, in September, 1815, Cooper left the College, together with Principal Atwater and practically the entire Faculty. This was in anticipation of a definite closing which shortly thereafter occurred. Evidently the trustees did not agree with Atwater as to the standing of this difficult man, for there is a record, in November, 1815, which includes an acknowledgment to Cooper of "the great and important benefits the institution has received from you, and declaration that all your conduct either as a professor or as a gentleman has been such as in every respect to meet our warmest approbation." This peculiar statement was signed by eleven trustees.

Upon leaving Carlisle, Cooper became a professor in the University in Philadelphia, and later, through the recom-

commendation of his friend, Thomas Jefferson, he was elected to a chair in the University of Virginia then about to open. But after his resignation from Philadelphia and acceptance of the Virginia position, the protests against his religious peculiarities gained such strength that his election to the Virginia chair was canceled upon the payment to him of a year's salary. In the meantime he taught at the University of South Carolina, there formulating arguments used by the political leaders of that state in support of their positions as to states rights and slavery. He became both acting president, and then president of the Columbia institution, eventually resigning in his own good time in January, 1834.

Cooper did the College one incidental service of high value. He had the disposal of Joseph Priestley's scientific apparatus and library, as he wrote Thomas Jefferson, in consequence of which the College obtained several pieces of this apparatus. The trustee record of December 17, 1812,

recites: "Resolved that the trustees will accept on the terms proposed by Mr. Priestley a 3-foot reflecting telescope, 5 in. reflector mounted in best manner, \$220; a lens, \$250; and an air gun, \$60. And that the amount be paid out of the apparatus fund and that Mr. Cooper be requested to inform Mr. Priestley of this resolution and that his draft will be duly honored."



Priestley Apparatus, purchased in 1812

The lens thus pur-

chased for \$250 now seems priceless in view of its probable uses by Priestley in the discovery of oxygen.

Stories of Cooper's life say little of his family. In fact, there is generally little more than the fact of his early marriage in England, and his living in the home of Joseph Priestley during the last years of Priestley's life. A chance glance at an old volume of the Carlisle *Herald* discovered the announcement that Thomas Cooper married Eliz. Hemming, of Carlisle, on October 12, 1812.

Returning now to Dickinson College, it is recalled that Atwater's financial problem has not been mentioned, though its dark shadow was probably ever present with him. At once on his arrival he was asked to go to the Legislature with some trustees to seek a state grant. They failed, as he thought, because they asked too much, a grant outright instead of the purchase of their land. On their failure he wrote Rush in April, 1810, "I know not how the Trustees will get along and discharge some pressing debts without sacrificing their productive funds." Well he might say this, for shortly afterward he wrote: "The College ground & buildings have lately been attached by the heirs of Dr. Nisbet for a debt of \$6,000 due them. Without aid the funds must go to satisfy their debt. The College building is unfinished." Atwater advised the trustees to borrow enough to tide them over till they could again try for a state grant, but they instead sold their endowment securities to pay at least part of their debt.

Some incidents of this sale transaction throw light on the progress of the construction of West College and its earliest use as a dormitory. When Rush learned of the trouble he sent the trustees, by Mrs. McCoskry, *née* Nisbet, a \$500 bond of Francis Campbell, of Shippensburg, as a contribution on their debts. Even had it arrived in time, it would have been too little to save the situation. Judge Hamilton wrote to thank Rush and said "Our College hall [the old Chapel] is useless, being in an unfinished state. How would you approve of the appropriation of the bond to the com-

pletion of this unfinished part of the edifice?" Rush apparently agreed to its use for any purpose; for Hamilton writes later: "Your donation is appropriated to . . . dividing rooms for the accommodation of students, and any surplus to the completion of the Public Hall."

The Public Hall, however, was forced to wait, and was not completed for at least ten years. The trustees decided about this time to board and lodge students in their building, and part, at least, of the Rush donation was used for finishing "the dining room and procuring the tables and benches and building an oven." In May, 1810, a start had been made toward bringing students into their dormitory, for it had then been "Resolved, That a number of rooms in the College not exceeding eight be divided . . . so as to accommodate students." This was the first use of the yet incomplete new building as a dormitory; and in the absence of regular tutors Atwater himself undertook the tutor's work for a time. The completion of the boarding arrangements followed, and some students were lodged in the building.

But two years after Atwater's coming, the College was without endowment, owed money, and had an unfinished building. As Atwater had come from a college without endowment, he might have succeeded had they given him hearty support and removed the incubus of debt. In one of his letters he writes, "I do trust that God will yet raise up for the Institution benefactors"; and takes steps to answer his prayer as far as it was in his power to do so. He planned with Rush for an approach to the daughter of Dickinson for such endowment as she might be willing to give; and laid plans for enlarging the student body. Nothing came from Miss Dickinson; but the increase of the student body was immediate and decided so that he soon came to believe that he could almost ignore endowment and that the College might live without it. He outlined a budget to Rush less than a year after he reached Carlisle on this supposition. He based it on 100 college students, each paying \$35 tuition, and 30 students in the Grammar School at \$30 each. All

CATALOG

OF THE

Faculty and Students of Dickinson College December 1880

REV. JEREMIAH ATWATER

Professor of Logic, Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy

JAMES McCORMICK, A. M. *Professor of Mathematics*

REV. HENRY R. WILSON, A. M. *Professor of Sacred Theology*

JOHN BORLAND, A. M. *Professor of Natural Theology*

THOMAS COOPER, Esq. *Professor of Natural History*

CLAUDIUS BERARD, *Professor of French*

SAMUEL B. HOW, A. B. *Tutor*

Senior Class.

NAME.	PLACE OF RESIDENCE.	ROOMS.
Samuel Alexander,	<i>Carlisle,</i>	Mrs. Alexander's.
Addison Belt,	<i>District of Columbia,</i>	Dr. Atwater's.
Thomas T. Blackford,	<i>Frederick co. Md.</i>	Mr. Cooper's.
William B. Beverly,	<i>Georgetown, D. C.</i>	Mrs. Frank's.
Calvin Blythe,	<i>Adams co.</i>	14
John Brown,	<i>Queen Anne, E. S. Md.</i>	Mrs. Mahon's.
Charles N. Cloggett,	<i>Prince George co. Md.</i>	Mr. Love's.
Colin Cooke,	<i>Lancaster,</i>	Mr. McCormick's.
James Dunlop,	<i>Chambersburg,</i>	15
Ebeneser L. Finley,	<i>Baltimore,</i>	Mr. Boyd's.
William Goldsborough,	<i>Fredericktown Md.</i>	Mr. Cooper's.
Thomas J. Graham,	<i>Fredericktown Md.</i>	Mr. Cooper's.
Robert C. Grier,	<i>Norhamberland,</i>	12
James Hamilton,	<i>Carlisle,</i>	Judge Hamilton's.
Alexander L. Hayes,	<i>Dover Del.</i>	Mr. Love's.
Jeremiah F. Leaming,	<i>Philadelphia,</i>	21
Richard H. Lee,	<i>Loudon co. Va.</i>	Mrs. Mahon's.
Samuel A. Marshall,	<i>Alexandria D. C.</i>	Mr. J. Wilson's.
John H. Mason,	<i>Loudon co. Va.</i>	Mr. Read's.
Charles E. Mayer,	<i>Baltimore,</i>	Dr. Albright's.
James C. McCormick,	<i>Carlisle,</i>	Mr. McCormick's.
William M'Pherson,	<i>Fredericktown Md.</i>	27
Robert Patton,	<i>Frederickburg Va.</i>	Mrs. Scott's.
George L. Potter,	<i>Centre co.</i>	20
James D. Riddle,	<i>Alexandria D. C.</i>	Mrs. Pollock's.
Notley Roser,	<i>Alexandria, D. C.</i>	Mr. Sparr's.
William Simpson,	<i>Shippensburg,</i>	27
James Sykes,	<i>Dover Del.</i>	18
Jesse Taylor,	<i>Alexandria D. C.</i>	Mr. John Wilson's.
William Thomas,	<i>Georgetown Md.</i>	Mr. Love's.
George Travers,	<i>Georgetown D. C.</i>	Mrs. Pollock's.
Wm. M. Worthington,	<i>Georgetown D. C.</i>	Mr. Cooper's.

Seniors 32.

Junior Class.

NAME.	PLACE OF RESIDENCE.	ROOMS.
Edward Barton,	<i>Frederickburg Va.</i>	Dr. Atwater's.
James B. Beverly,	<i>Georgetown D. C.</i>	Mrs. Frank's.
James Biddle,	<i>Reading,</i>	Mrs. Craft's.
Lenox Birkhead,	<i>Baltimore,</i>	Mr. Cooper's.
Robert B. Corbin,	<i>Caroline co. Va.</i>	26
James S. Craft,	<i>Carlisle,</i>	Mrs. Craft's.
Harmar Denny,	<i>Pittsburgh,</i>	Mr. Boyd's.
Charles Eggleston,	<i>Annita co. Va.</i>	Mrs. Grayson's.
James B. Finley,	<i>Chillicothe Ohio.</i>	Mr. Boyd's.
Matthew Greer,	<i>Chester co.</i>	Mrs. Pollock's.
John M'Pherson,	<i>Fredericktown Md.</i>	27
William M'Farlane,	<i>Newville,</i>	Mrs. Alexander's.
James G. McNeilly,	<i>Adams County,</i>	14
Benjamin B. Mackall,	<i>Prince George co. Md.</i>	Major Halbert's.
William D. Mercer,	<i>Elkton Md.</i>	Mr. McCormick's.
William Montgomery,	<i>Lancaster.</i>	Mrs. Pollock's.
Isaac A. Ogden,	<i>Bridgetown N. J.</i>	Dr. Atwater's.
George W. Oldham,	<i>Elkton Md.</i>	22
Robert Ralston,	<i>Philadelphia,</i>	19
James Somervell,	<i>Prince George co. Md.</i>	Major Halbert's.
Joseph Tate,	<i>Rickmond Va.</i>	Mrs. Pollock's.
Charles Witman,	<i>Reading,</i>	20
Richard Wootton,	<i>Montgomery co. Md.</i>	20
William Young,	<i>Greencastle,</i>	Mrs. Frank's.

Juniors 24.

TOTAL

OGUE

HE

Dickinson College, Carlisle,
er, 1811.

TER, D. D. PRINCIPAL,

oral Philosophy, &c.

tor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

Professor of Languages.

of Greek and Belles Lettres.

of Chymistry, &c.

Modern Languages.

Sophomore Class.

NAMES	PLACE OF RESIDENCE.	ROOMS.
Samuel D. Blackiston,	Kent co. Md.	21
Jesse Y. Caslor,	Frankford,	Dr. Atwater's.
John Carothers,	Carlisle,	Mr. Carother's.
Josiah Clapham,	Loudon Co. Va.	Mrs. Grayson's.
Arthur Chambers,	Carlisle,	Mr. Spotswood's.
Hill Carter,	Richmond, Va.	Mr. Row's.
John Duncan,	Carlisle,	Mr. T. Duncan's.
John A. French,	Fredericksburgh Va.	Mrs. Scott's.
Edward Gillbill,	Frankford,	Dr. Atwater's.
Nicholas Goldsborough,	Fredericktown Md.	Mr. Cooper's.
Dennis Hagan,	Fredericktown Md.	Mr. Cooper's.
John T. Linton,	Dumfries, Va.	Dr. Atwater's.
James Leiper,	Philadelphia,	19
David N. Mahon,	Carlisle,	Mrs. Mahon's.
Mordecai M'Kinney,	Newport Del.	Mr. Spotswood's.
Charles Oldham,	Elkton Md.	22
John Patton,	Fredericksburgh Va.	Mrs. Scott's.
Andrew Pierce,	Newville	Mrs. Alexander's.
Humphrey B. Powell,	Leesburgh Va.	Mrs. Pollock's.
Ashbel G. Ralston,	Philadelphia,	19
Richard R. Randolph,	Richmond, Va.	Mrs. Grayson's.
William W. Smith,	Lancaster,	Mrs. Maloin's.
Jacob Snider,	Chambersburgh	
Charles F. Spering,	Easton Pa.	Mr. H. Wilson's.
William Sykes,	Dover, Del.	18
Benjamin Sterrett,	Mercersburgh,	Mrs. Godfrey's.
Thomas S. Thomas,	Baltimore,	25
William J. Thompson,	Harborside W. J.	Mrs. Grayson's.
P. Wade Thornton,	Richmond Va.	25
John T. Thornton,	Richmond Va.	25
John Tyler,	Prince Wilhams Va.	Dr. Atwater's.
John Whitehill,	Harrisburgh,	14
George S. Wilkins,	Pittsburgh,	22
William T. Wootton,	Prince George co. Md.	Mrs. Grayson's.

Sophomores 34.

Freshmen Class & Grammar School.

NAMES.	PLACE OF RESIDENCE.	ROOMS.
John W. Armstrong,	Carlisle,	Dr. Armstrong's.
Seth Barton,	Fredericksburgh Va.	Dr. Albright's.
Horatio R. Beatty,	Georgetown D. C.	10
William Brackenridge,	Carlisle,	Judge Brackenridge.
Samuel Bell,	Reading,	Mrs. Wilson's.
Joseph Cellers,	Mercersburgh,	Mrs. Godfrey's.
John Carothers,	Carlisle,	Mrs. Pollock's.
Francis P. Corbin,	Caroline, co. Va.	26
George J. Ewing,	Philadelphia,	Mrs. Alexander's.
John Elliott,	Carlisle,	Mr. Elliott's.
Joseph W. Edmiston,	Levistown,	Mrs. Godfrey's.
John Givin,	Carlisle,	Mr. Givin's.
Joseph S. Gibbs,	New Castle, Del.	Mrs. Postlethwait's.
Walter E. Hyer,	New-York,	10
John Leamy,	Philadelphia,	Mr. Love's.
Alex. V. Lufborough,	Georgetown D. C.	Dr. Albright's.
P. G. M'Farland,	York,	Mr. Spar's.
William H. M'Cannon,	Baltimore,	16
Charles M'Coskry,	Carlisle,	Dr. M'Coskry's.
William M'Coskry,	Do.	Dr. M'Coskry's.
Charles G. Paleske,	Philadelphia,	Mrs. Postlethwait's.
B. O. Van Predelles,	Baltimore,	Mrs. Alexander's.
Andrew H. Pattison,	Carlisle,	Mr. Pattison's.
Edward D. Ridgeley,	Baltimore,	Mrs. Mahon's.
Henry Steneka,	Baltimore,	Mrs. Alexander's.
Charles Smith,	Philadelphia,	Mr. Alexander's.
William Turnbull,	Philadelphia,	Dr. M'Coskry's.
Andrew H. Woods,	Baltimore,	Mrs. Alexander's.

Freshmen Class & Grammar School 28.

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alike were to pay an annual entrance or matriculation fee of \$4. His plan follows:

Estimated Income—	
Entrance fees	\$520
College tuition	3500
Grammar-School tuition	900
<i>French</i> (extra)	
(20 students at \$20)	400
	————— \$5320
Estimated Expense—	
President	1000
1 Professor	500
2 Professors at \$400	800
2 additional	
Professors needed	1600
	————— \$3900
Surplus \$1420	

To give him time to work out the plan he proposed a guarantee fund for five years, writing Rush, “Now cannot a plan be devised to guarantee for 5 years to the trustees about \$2,000 yearly, with an expectation that the increase of students will make it unnecessary to call on the subscribers to pay any part of what they guarantee? Say 400 shares @ \$5. each. Have we not friends who would take them up? Mr. Duncan is favourable to a plan of this sort & thinks it would succeed. What would be your opinion?” In the Rush files there is a form of subscription drawn up in accordance with this proposal. Nothing further, however, seems to have been done in the matter.

The number of students needed to meet college expenses was secured sooner, probably, than was even hoped. The first college catalogue, issued in 1811, showed that Atwater had already a few more students than he thought necessary to carry the College, and but for the disastrous Cooper incident might have been able to carry on. However, following Cooper’s election, and the disorganization and incident lack of harmony in Faculty and Board, the student body diminished. It is probable, too, that his own courage ebbed

with the lessening confidence of his constituency in the soundness of the College.

The early letters of Atwater, even those on the bad moral conditions of the town and College, have a forward look. In February, 1813, however, after a little over three years' effort, he writes Rush in another spirit. The heart has gone out of him, and he is looking forward, not for the College, but toward his own departure. This letter of February, 1813, is full of suggestions as well as facts on existing conditions. Even Rush now despaired of anything worth while at the College, and Rush proposed to resign from the Board on Atwater's withdrawal, but he died in the meantime. Atwater writes:

I this day recd. yours of the 30th ult. It is a long time since I have been intending to write you a letter, but various circumstances have caused a delay. One reason has been that since last Sept. I have been obliged to preach &c., in the place of Dr. Davidson, & have of course been more than usually occupied. You have known what have been my feelings about leaving this place. In June last, I recd. from Dr. Green a letter which had much weight with me. From it I extract the following, "I have talked over your case with our mutual friends Dr. Rush & Mr. Ralston & am now briefly to tell you the result. That you should be dissatisfied with your present situation is not surprising after all that has taken place at Carlisle; I must say that notwithstanding all, it appears to me to be your duty for the present to remain where you are, till you are clearly called away. When you are clearly called, where you have the prospect of doing more good, go immediately. But wait for that as patiently as you can. I do not think as favourably of L. as you appear to do. A door will open for you in the best time . . . till then wait & trust in the Lord." After receiving this letter, my mind was rather more at ease, than it had been, & I have endeavoured since, to shape my conduct in conformity to the advice, which it gives. No opening has yet presented itself of the kind mentioned, & having purchased a house, & been at considerable expense in settling down here, I have felt myself under a sort of necessity of remaining, for a while, under circumstances wherein I should not, if I had no family. I read with satisfaction that you will defer resigning your trusteeship while I am here. I feel grateful for this expression of your kindness . . . as I have felt in relation to numerous past expressions of it, the warm sense of which I shall carry with me to my grave. A principal reason for the tenacity, which was manifested in getting Thos. C. here was I suppose that Messrs. Watts & Mr. Duncan (who were not

aware of any opposition) had in the first instance improperly gone beyond their powers as a committee & had absolutely made a bargain with Mr. C. before he had been regularly elected. I think that Mr. C. is daily losing friends from various causes . . . among these, is a knowledge of his habits which are not all of them the most exemplary. I think he will before long run himself out. It will be well, if he does not previously run the College out. Our number of students is reduced from 120 to 90. . . . I endeavoured to do the best in my power, under existing circumstances. . . . I have told the trustees decidedly that tho' disposed to do all in my power, I will not hold myself responsible for the evils which may arise under present management. They are beginning to get alarmed for the fate of the College, & find it difficult to extricate themselves. Men do not love very well to retrace their steps when they have gone wrong. . . . They now manifest that they feel more dependence on me, in relation to upholding the College than they were willing to, in their zeal for Mr. C. In fact, they treat me with more respect & deference. . . . Perhaps you would smile if I were to allege this, as one evidence that they are coming to their senses. Dear Sir, I have often felt for you. You have shown yourself a true substantial friend to the Institution & how have you been treated? I forget my own trials whenever I think of the returns made to you for your generosity & disinterested friendship. But I think that it is Cotton Mather who says in his *Essays to Do Good* that "when we have done our utmost to serve mankind, we must expect their ingratitude in return." The good men will look to God & a future state. I will only add respecting Mr. C. that I think the number of his friends is very small at present in the Board, & that before long these who elected him will say (what, I think, they are now silently saying to themselves) that they were wrong & that others were right. Our Professor of Languages, Mr. Wilson, resigns in April. No one has yet been agreed on to succeed him. I think students behave better than last year, perhaps because their number is smaller, & some of the worst have left. Young men from Virginia with rooms in the town & not confined to college walls will conduct themselves here much, as I am told, they do . . . when in Philadelphia attending medical lectures. But I am happy to say, that a great proportion of our young men are studious & promising. . . . In teaching such I have great satisfaction. . . . From the trustees (at least some of them) I have felt alienated. But I love the students & am happy, when benefitting them. To Thos. C. I am not very partial, & never shall be, till he reforms. By the way, I don't know that as yet he has been able to corrupt the youth. That he is disposed so to do, I have no doubt. Let him take his own course; the worse his conduct the sooner we shall be rid of him.

Atwater seems to have been on pleasant terms with the trustees, who failed, nevertheless, to provide generous

support. Conditions were not better than those described in a previous chapter. In fact, some of the worst features of this bungling appeared at this time. It was in 1814 that a trustee committee was directed to inquire of the Faculty why they were not observing the various resolutions of the Board. About the same time the trustees directed the Principal and each Professor to make a written report to their secretary at the close of each week of "all delinquents or absentees, . . . for the inspection of the Board."

The charter required that any serious discipline of students be by trustee action, but there was no requirement that the trustees discipline their Faculty. They had not yet learned that they had presumably employed experts in education who should know better how to conduct the work of the College than they, lawyers, preachers, and merchants as they were. Thirty years of bungling had not yet taught the lesson. It was not learned for twenty years more.

The story of the Atwater administration is largely told. There remain to present some few things to give a proper understanding of the course the College was taking.

Dormitory rooms in the college building for students and teachers, and the equipment of a kitchen and dining-room probably represented the only changes in the interior of the building for these years. The month after Atwater's arrival the purchase of the first college bell was authorized, and his letter of February 4, 1810, announced that it had been put in place. Its cost was \$111.40, and it had to be "waggoned" from Philadelphia to Carlisle. This bell served for thirty-four years, when President Durbin substituted a larger one.

The campus was originally "commons," and was first fenced in 1803, when a locust-post and chestnut-rail fence enclosed it. November 2, 1810, the Board "Resolved, That on the 20th of November inst. the college ground will be leveled and forest trees planted, and Resolved that the inhabitants of the town and neighborhood be invited to lend their aid and assistance, by public advertisement, and that the Trustees, in town, will attend and direct." Whether the

invitation was accepted is not known, though the report on the condition of the campus twenty-five years later indicates that little was done.

One old custom was changed during this administration. Chief Justice Taney and President Buchanan both said that the nomination of the valedictorian and salutatorian of each college class was made by two societies. The Faculty then decided which of the two should have first and which second honors. It was ordered, September 30, 1812, that the Faculty should thereafter make the selection for honors.

Some of the students had left the College for the defense of Philadelphia in the War of 1812, and were not able to be present at commencement late in September. They were granted their diplomas *in absentia*.

The earliest college catalogues of any kind known to have been issued were from Atwater's hand. He sent out, late in 1810, what might be called a general catalogue, with names of all graduates to date of issue, and wrote Rush that he would send him a copy. Two copies of this are in the Rush collection and one in the possession of the College. These are the only copies known to exist, though there may be others. Atwater issued at least two other catalogues of Faculty and students. The earlier one, of December, 1811, lists 118 college and grammar-school students. Of these, 16 were from Carlisle and 30 of them roomed in the college building. The later one, of August, 1812, shows 124 students; 17 from Carlisle, and 17 in the college building. Most of the students in both years roomed in the private homes of Carlisle, those of Atwater, Cooper, and McCormick among them. All three of these catalogues were printed on one side of a large single sheet of paper.

Early in his stay in Carlisle, Atwater tried to secure for the College the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, whose establishment was then being discussed, but it went to the older and better established college at Princeton.

Dr. Davidson preached his last sermon in the Presbyterian Church on September 4, 1812, and Atwater writes the

following February that he was then serving that congregation. As the church had no regular pastor during the remainder of Atwater's stay in Carlisle, it seems probable that he continued to occupy the pulpit as a supply.

Five men were added to the college Faculty during Atwater's administration, one of them twice, but official trustee record of election appears in the case of Thomas Cooper only. Dr. Aigster preceded Cooper, but the only evidence of his connection with the College is found in the Rush correspondence, as already given. In 1810 Claudius Berard was engaged to teach, as stated in a letter of Atwater to Rush. His coming was deemed of sufficient importance to call for special advertisement. The President of the Board wrote Rush on May 7, 1810, and asked that he insert in one or two Philadelphia papers the following advertisement:

DICKINSON COLLEGE. The trustees anxious that this now prosperous institution should further merit public encouragement have engaged a gentleman of character and talents to teach the French language. He has also some knowledge of the Spanish. This acquisition, long wished for . . . now forms a compleat system of education at this Seminary. The next session of the College will commence on the first of June ensuing.

Claudius Berard is listed in the first catalogue list of Faculty and students, December, 1811, but not in the second list of August, 1812. Berard is also listed as a "non-graduate" member of the college Class of 1812. He was later a member of the Faculty of 1814-1815. He probably taught Modern Languages from 1810 for a year or two, and pursued some college studies while teaching, but without graduation. He then left the College, but returned to teach for the year 1814-1815, after which he taught French at West Point Military Academy till his death in 1848.

There is no official record of the election of Professors Shaw and Nulty, but they were named in trustee minutes as Professors testifying before the trustees to the guilt of students being tried; and John Borland's election is established only by a letter of Atwater to Rush. Borland had

taught in the College before, but left in 1805 to teach in New York. He returned for one year only, in 1811-1812. Professor Wilson resigned in 1813 and was succeeded by Joseph Shaw, of Scotch birth and education. He left in 1815, after two years' service, for work in Albany Academy, where he died in 1824. It is recorded of him that his students remembered him with gratitude and affection. Eugene Nulty taught mathematics in 1814-1816, after which he became the actuary of a Philadelphia life insurance company.

On Atwater's withdrawal, September, 1815, Shaw, Berard, and Cooper also withdrew. Even McNeily, head of the Grammar School, left, but a Mr. Trimble was at once chosen to take his place. There remained for the College only Nulty, of whom nothing really is known. There was practically no Faculty with which to begin work one month later, after the regular fall vacation, with only Nulty in the College and Trimble in the Grammar School. Atwater was gone, and the College was worse off than six years before when he came.

A Carlisle Federal-Republican paper says that this

leaves the Coll. with but two officers, the professor of mathematics and the new appointed teacher of the Grammar School. "What can the matter be?" Mr. J. Atwater resigned, Mr. T. Cooper resigned, and Mr. McNeily resigned. [Shaw and Berard are not mentioned.] Something uncommon must surely have occurred to have occasioned such "a falling off." But we expected nothing less. Some of the toasts drunk on the Fourth of July last by those who were tutored in that college were sufficient to damn any institution that would sanction them. We hope, however, that professors of pure American principles may be found who will speedily redeem the lost character of an institution which was once so respectable and so justly celebrated.

This same paper, in its issue of July 6, had reported the Fourth of July doings, but none of the things reported explain its attack on "those who were tutored in that College." There was a general celebration in the morning, with flamboyant speeches. The anti-Federalist students then celebrated in College Hall with speaking by one of their

members. After this they adjourned to the hotel for a banquet from one to four o'clock. Here there were toasts of the same general character as those of the earlier community celebration of the morning. The subjects of the formal toasts and other elements of the event give an interesting picture of the time. There were twenty-one toasts, political and patriotic. The first nine toasts are given somewhat in full, but the last twelve are merely suggested, as follows:

1. *The day we celebrate.* With hearts devoted to Liberty we hail its return. Let friends to the divine right of kings hide their faces and mourn in sackcloth and ashes. "Hail Columbia. . ."

2. *General Washington,* the brightest star in the constellation of Virtue. May its light shine not in the path of the traitor. "Washington's March. . ."

3. *The Cause of the People.* The Cause of reason and justice; it will prevail in spite of faction. "Yankee Doodle. . ."

4. *The President of the United States.* In testimony of his worth he has the patriot's blessing and the Tories' scorn. "Madison's March. . ."

5. *The Union of the States.* It has stood the siege of war, and now we have peace; let any strong, vile, insignificant faction dare attempt its separation. "Jefferson and Liberty. . ."

6. *The Hartford Convention.* In competition with British gold, their country's wrongs are feeble suitors. "Rogues March. . ."

7. *The Patriots of South America.* Liberty their polar star. Hallowed be their cause, and prosperous their exertions. "Hail Liberty. . ."

8. *The Western States.* The land of virtue and hospitality; the residence of patriots who "have utterance and action." "Colonel Croghan's March. . ."

9. *The Navy and the Army of the United States.* The ardor of their enterprise, and the glory of their achievement in defense of our national rights will be a lasting monument to their work. "Anacreon in Heaven. . ."

(The remaining toasts in part only)

10. *Our Late Commission at Ghent.*
11. *The Heads of Departments.*
12. *The Congress of the United States.* May they do more and say less. "Fire on the mountains. . ."
13. *Dickinson College.* The bright luminary of Pennsylvania. "College Hornpipe. . ."
14. *The Faculty of Dickinson College.* "Old Hundred. . ."
15. *Thomas Cooper, Esq.* The profound philosopher, the genuine patriot and the endeared friend.

(This shows that the Republican part of the college body at least were proud of their celebrated Professor, whatever the Principal and others might think of him.)

16. *Thomas Jefferson.* The Patriot and Statesman. "Jefferson's March. . ."
17. *The Militia.*
18. *Napoleon.*
19. *Dr. Benjamin Franklin.*
20. *Free Trade and Sailors' Rights.*
21. *The Fair.* "Last Week I took a Wife. . ."

These twenty-one formal toasts were followed by another series of impromptu ones, even more intensely partisan, if that were possible. In them the Federal party, then about dead as a national force, was pilloried in every way, with a display of party rancor undreamed of today.

The newspaper notes that there were other celebrations at other places, but gives no account of their programs. Federalist speeches at some other celebrations were ignored at the time, but held in reserve for use when the Faculty of the College was disrupted. Then it could say "only what was to be expected of a College training such men."

The Fourth of July seems to have been made the occasion for partisan rather than national purposes. The *Gazette* records that John Duncan Mahon, of the Class of 1814, spoke

before the Federal-Republican students on the occasion in 1814, Francis W. Brooke, of the Class of 1815, in 1815. The Federalists had probably dwindled so as to make their meeting hardly respectable. They probably met with other citizens, and some of them may have stirred the wrath of the Federal-Republican paper, as above.

There was a long-standing rule of the College forbidding speeches by the students on national or political subjects, and the bitterness of some of these toasts and the high pitch of political passion they reveal are probably good excuse for the prohibition. There were so many unexploded magazines in every community that it was unsafe to allow young men the use of fire. So we see that when they were at liberty they gave free vent to their political prejudices and passions.

So ends the Atwater period—or perhaps it should be termed the Atwater-Cooper period—with the seemingly simultaneous departure of the Faculty in September, 1815.

JOHN McKNIGHT—1815—1816

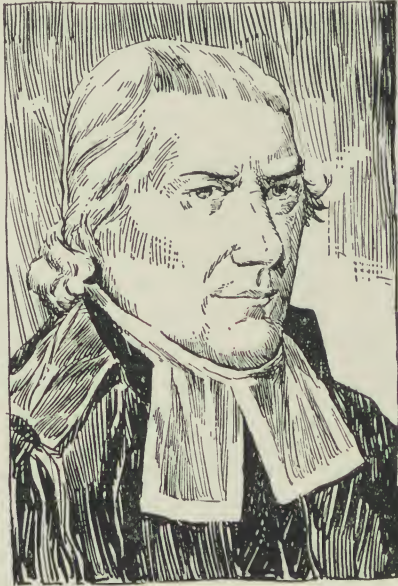
THE COLLEGE HIBERNATES

WITH but one exception [in 1788] the college classes had graduated in September, and the vacations of the year were the months of May and October.

Atwater left at the close of the college year, in September, 1815. The College should have formally closed when he left. There were no resources for meeting its expenses. The endowment had disappeared four years before, and students had dwindled to a handful of 27 after the graduation of the class in 1815.

The lack of harmony in the College, in the Board of Trustees, in the Faculty, and between trustees and Faculty—everywhere, in fact, where lack of harmony could exist—had done its work. There appeared no hope for the future, and

closing the College was the only reasonable thing to do, yet there was not enough harmony in the Board for them to agree even to this. If they were to continue the College the only reasonable course was for them to do something heroic, something quite different from anything they had ever done. They should have secured a strong man to win victory in the face of present defeat, and should have given him full support in every way.



John McKnight

Nothing of the sort seems to have been thought of. On the contrary, they elected John McKnight as Principal. He was born in 1754, graduated from Princeton in 1773, and had received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Yale in 1799. After some years in the pastorate he had retired to his farm because of poor health. This man of little vigor they set to cope with a situation much worse than those which had been too difficult for strong men to master. To make a bad matter worse, after they had elected such a man for almost certain failure, they themselves discredited him. With Pecksniffian care for the reputation of the College, they refused him the title of Principal. He was allowed to sign the diplomas of the six graduates of his one class as Acting Principal only. He seems to have had but little support in faculty assistance. Only Owen Nulty of the old Faculty remained, as teacher of mathematics; and there is no account of the election of anybody to fill up the depleted Faculty. The books of the Treasurer, however, show that Jno. McClure was paid for teaching languages from November, 1815, to May, 1816, and that Gerard E. Stack was paid for like services from July to October, 1816. These are the only notes on McKnight's Faculty.

It is difficult to write of these trustees' conduct without saying things hardly fit for print. Their financial conduct of the time, previously detailed, would further justify almost anything one might say of them. McKnight, of course, could not succeed. The College was dead, but was not aware of it. He spent a year in preparation for the obsequies, and in 1816, at the close of that year, its death was conceded, and the funeral followed.

There was no sign of resurrection for nearly four years, until, on May 23, 1820, on request of the trustees, the Burgess of Carlisle then announced in the local *Republican* that a public meeting would be held in the court-house to consider college conditions. *The Republican* supported the call in a long and labored editorial. The meeting was held on May 26, and was presided over by Dr. G. D. Foulke, the

Burgess. He presented the case from the standpoint of the town, and Andrew Carothers spoke for the College. Suitable resolutions were adopted and committees were appointed to canvass the community for funds.

The newspaper report of the proceedings shows that they were all aware of the real troubles of the College, and knew that internal dissension was at their root. *The Republican* said: "It is said that a house divided against itself must fall. How long, we pray you, can a town stand, should its inhabitants be prevented by ridiculous suspicions, imaginary jealousies, political dissensions, or any divisions whatsoever, from uniting as a band of brothers in encouraging so important an undertaking as the present and in whose success, one and all have the same common interest."

There is also reference to lack of control of students under old conditions, and the fear that Harrisburg might improve the opportunity to get the College. Quoting:

The resuscitation of the institution on a new and improved system of discipline in college, accompanied with the adoption and enforcement of some strict regulations for the government and conduct of the students out of it, more rigid than those heretofore practised, will, when the College arrives at that degree of eminence, to which it may justly aspire under the fostering protection of the people and legislature, tend more to promote the growth and prosperity of the town, than all the advantages which might arise from having the seat of government. Harrisburg already enjoys all the benefits of the latter, and we should not be surprised if that town, always attentive to its interest, would avail itself of the downfall of the College at Carlisle, and establish on its ruins, a SEMINARY AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT. Such an event would rob our little town of the only hope of giving it celebrity abroad, as a "seat" of learning, and deprive the inhabitants forever of all the benefits which they may justly expect to derive from a flourishing institution within its bounds; an institution which has already cost them so much money, and so much anxiety and pains to found and endow.

The resolutions of the town meeting referred to the college building as "the venerable pile," and to the College as "this ancient institution." The one was "venerable" with its fifteen years, the other was "ancient" with its thirty-six

years. Very young things could then be ancient and venerable; the country was young.

The committees appointed at this meeting secured subscriptions for \$3,000, to be paid in five annual installments; and there are indications that about \$2,000 of this was paid.

Probably encouraged by these signs of the purpose of the community to do something for itself, on February 14, 1821, the Legislature of the state made an immediate grant to the College of \$6,000 for debts and repairs, and \$2,000 annually for five years.

The grants from the state, supplemented by the results of the popular subscription, encouraged the Board to reopen the College, and they began to seek a suitable principal. A committee on the subject suggested as their first choice John M. Mason, of New York, with two others in reserve. The Board, however, first chose the other two in succession—Dr. Wilson of Philadelphia, and J. B. Hogue of Martinsburg. Both of them declined; the Board then elected Mason, and he accepted.

JOHN MITCHELL MASON—1821-1824

RENEWAL

JOHN MITCHELL MASON was the peer of any man in the Dickinson history. Most of his great work, however, was done before he came to Carlisle. He was born in 1770 and graduated from Columbia in 1789. At the age of twenty-two he succeeded his father as pastor of a small New York church, where his ministry added six hundred members in a few years. At thirty-one, as an additional service, he established and organized the first theological seminary of the Associate Reformed Church. Five years later he projected the *Christian Magazine*, a church theological organ. In 1811, at the age of forty-one, he took on, as additional work, the duties of Provost of Columbia College.

The late Clyde Furst, Dickinson, 1893, Secretary of The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, shortly before his death furnished the following account of his entrance upon his work as Provost of Columbia. Because of its curious features it follows in full:

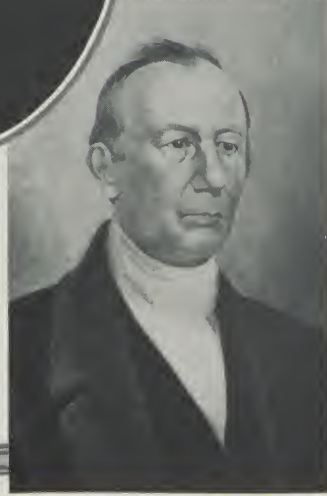
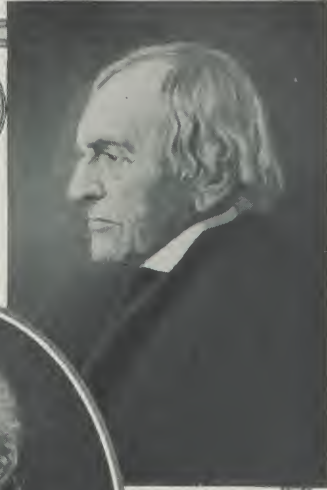
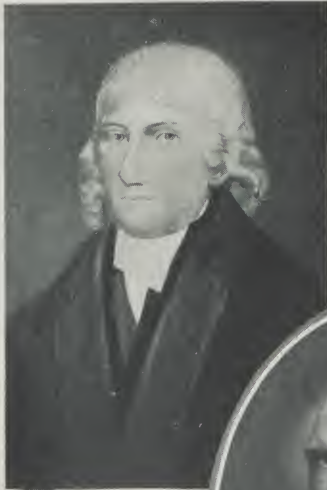
The history of Columbia University, published in 1904, refers to him on page 95 as follows: "The Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, a great pulpit orator, the most distinguished, perhaps, of his time, Provost of Columbia College, President of Dickinson College;" on pages 97 and 98 are extended notices concerning him as follows: "Early in March, 1811, Bishop Moore resigned the presidency, and a committee was appointed to consider 'What measures are proper to be pursued with respect to the appointment of a President. . . .' An influential party desired the election of the Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, of the class of '89, one of the committee that had introduced the new curriculum. He appeared, however, to be ineligible to the presidency by reason of the condition of the grant of land made by Trinity Church that the President should be a communicant of the Episcopal Church. This restriction had been eliminated from the Charter by the Legislature, but the prevailing opinion, nevertheless, was that it still remained in force as to the land, which would be forfeited by its non-observance. The determination to secure the services of Dr. Mason was, however, so strong that, on recommendation of the Committee, an executive officer, additional and really superior to the President, was provided

for, styled the Provost. The President was to superintend the buildings and grounds, to report to the Trustees, as occasion might require, the state of the College and measures that he deemed necessary for its prosperity, to have power to visit the classes and any of the College departments, to give such directions and perform such acts generally as were calculated, in his opinion, to promote the interests of the institution, to preside at Commencements and meetings of the Board of the College, and to sign all diplomas. The Provost was to have all the duties and powers committed to the President, except that he was to preside at Commencements and meetings of the College Board only in the absence of the latter, and, in addition was to grant leave of absence from College in his discretion, to see that the prescribed course of instruction and discipline was faithfully followed, and to rectify all deviations from it, and to conduct the classical studies of the senior class. Under this arrangement, the Rev. Dr. William Harris, a Harvard alumnus of the class of '86, was in June, 1811, elected President, and the Rev. Dr. Mason, Provost. Under a special act of the Legislature, Dr. Mason was subsequently (1812) made a Trustee."

Finally, on page 102 there is the following statement: "Dr. Mason had been one of the severest critics of the methods of administration that prevailed during the presidency of Bishop Moore, and was believed to possess great executive capacity. He was one of the most active of the Board of Trustees and was doubtless largely influential in securing for the College from the Legislature the grant of Dr. Hosack's 'Elgin Botanical Garden.' As a College administrator, he appears not to have equalled expectation, and in July, 1816, resigned the provostship and severed his connection with the College." (The Elgin Botanical Garden mentioned above was the land on Fifth Avenue still owned by Columbia and recently leased to Mr. Rockefeller for approximately three million dollars a year.)

Mason was probably one of the most versatile men of his time, and one of the most distinguished. He was "pastor of a large congregation, the provost and teacher of an important college, the professor of a theological seminary, teaching with but little assistance the whole range of biblical and theological studies; he was the conductor of a religious periodical, and carried on at the same time several important controversies [theological] against vigorous and distinguished opponents."

His reputation was probably second to that of no man in the pulpit of his day. In 1816, however, when he was only forty-six years of age, he began to break under the load, and



Robert Davidson, Professor, 1785-1804
Acting President, 1804-1809

Jeremiah Atwater, 1809-1815

John Mitchell Mason, 1821-1824

William Neill, 1824-1828

Samuel Blanchard How, 1829-1832

COLLEGE PRESIDENTS, 1804-1832



John Dickinson
 Justice John Bannister Gibson
 Judge Edward W. Biddle

General John Armstrong
 Andrew Carothers
 Boyd Lee Spahr

SOME PRESIDENTS OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

traveled for a year; but was not fully restored when he returned to his pulpit. A slight stroke soon followed. He tried again, but was forced to resign his great church in 1821. At this time he was invited to Dickinson College. He accepted the invitation, saying, "It will employ me usefully in a work to which I find myself adequate." He hoped for further service, but his greatness of achievement was all in the past when he was only fifty-two years old; for, after a little less than three years of poor health and discouragement in Carlisle, he returned to New York, to die five years later.

Of all the list of college preachers of that era it is probable that Durbin alone, who followed him twelve years later, could match him in pulpit power. A sermon preached by him in London before the London Missionary Society made him "the idol of London. It served to bring him the most importunate invitations from all directions." At another time he preached on an academic occasion in New Haven to "Senators and men of learning from every part of the land. There sat the venerable Dwight and not less venerable Backus, melted into a flood of tears. That vast audience . . . with few exceptions covered their faces and wept."

Before Mason accepted the Dickinson invitation, he made inquiries which resulted in a statement from the trustees, September 8, 1821, that the tenure of Principal and Professors was during good behavior; that the probable revenues on which the College must be conducted for the next five years were the \$2,000 annually from the state, \$1,000 expected annually from subscriptions recently secured, and the student fees; and that after the five-year period student fees would be the sole reliance.

Mason came to Carlisle expecting the College to open in December, 1821, but the opening did not occur until January 15, 1822, when "the students, professors and the trustees . . . moved in procession to the Presbyterian Church where . . . the oaths of office were administered . . . by the Hon. J. B. Gibson to Dr. J. M. Mason . . . Henry Vethake . . . and the Rev. Alexander McClelland. . . . An eloquent and im-

pressive address was then delivered by Dr. J. M. Mason." This address, Mason's inaugural, laid emphasis on three things: the evolution of faculty; the formation of habit, especially of proper subordination to authority and the right use of time; and the cultivation of manners. Gibson, who administered the oath, was then both a trustee of the College and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Mason's salary was to be \$2,000 per year, and before he finally agreed to come he secured from the Board the promise of such salaries as would secure two other men he desired for his Faculty—big men, both of them: Henry Vethake and Alexander McClelland. Their salaries were to be \$1,500 and \$1,200, much more than had ever before been paid a Professor, as Mason's was much more than had ever been paid a Principal.

Vethake came from a professorship at Princeton. Born in 1792 he graduated at Columbia, at the age of twenty-one; was professor of mathematics at Rutgers, and, after four years, went to the same chair at Princeton. Four years later he came to Dickinson, whence he returned to Princeton in 1829. He was later professor in various institutions and head of Washington College at Lexington, Virginia, 1835–1836, and of the University of Pennsylvania, 1854–1859. He was a very versatile man, and it is probable that one of the first courses in political economy, if not the very first openly announced in this country, was one carried on by Vethake during his stay at Dickinson College. He was author of the articles on political economy appearing in the *Encyclopedia Americana* issued in his time. He died in Philadelphia, December 16, 1866.

Alexander McClelland, born in 1794, had graduated from Union College at fifteen. He then took his theological course under Mason in New York, and later served as pastor for seven years close to Mason's own church, so that Mason well knew his man. He left Dickinson in 1829 for a professorship at Rutgers, where he remained till his death in 1864. His chair at Dickinson was "Belles Lettres and History

of the Human Mind," and there are records of the great hold he secured upon both the student body and the cultured people of the town. When he spoke, and it was allowed them to be present, people flocked to hear him, for though his subject might be dry, his treatment of it never was. These scant reports of McClelland suggest Charles J. Little and Robert W. Rogers of later years, within the memory of men yet living.

Mason, Vethake, McClelland, great men all, must have made a notable Faculty, probably second to none in the country in power to stimulate young men. When planning for this Faculty, Mason wrote the trustees that if these men could be secured "No college in the country could look down on us." Few students have had such an opportunity except those gathered by Durbin twelve years later. Rev. George W. Bethune, D.D., of the Class of 1823, one of their students for two years, writes of them: "The faculty was small, but could scarcely have been more perfect. Dr. Mason, a ripe scholar, and the most eloquent pulpit orator of his country and perhaps of his age; Professor Henry Vethake, a thorough mathematician; Dr. Alexander McClelland, who, as an educator of youth, was without a parallel; this institution, so admirably furnished, presented great attractions to the youth." What a record the College might have made under such men had other conditions been favorable! It was too good to be lasting, for the leader was soon forced to lay down his work, and disagreements in the Faculty later appeared. The name and fame of these men, however, especially that of Mason, brought an almost immediate response to the call of the College for students. A number followed him from New York, and though the College opened January 1, only a short time after public announcement that it would do so, twenty-eight were in attendance almost at once, two of them so advanced in their work as to be recommended for degrees the following June, one of them being the son of the Principal.

In this Faculty Joseph Spencer, of Somerset County, Maryland, became Professor of Languages, with permission

to act as Rector of the Episcopal Church in Carlisle, and he continued in this dual capacity for several years. Going later to the far south, he died in Mississippi in 1862.

Student promise of the early days of Mason's times seems to have been realized for a time. There were trustee actions to allow students to live in the town when the building was full, and to convert a woodshed into a student dormitory! The growth of the College soon called for another building, for any considerable number of students would crowd the building. At least one Professor, with his family, was required to live in the building, so that after recitation rooms were provided the building could accommodate but few students. On these grounds the trustees memorialized the Legislature for an endowment and a new building, but without success, as usual.

Mason's home in Carlisle was on lot No. 17 of the "Additional plan of Out Lots," diagonally across High Street from the southwest corner of the main campus, about four acres, for which he paid \$600. This is part of the "Mooreland" of a later day, taking name from Johnston Moore of the Class of 1829, who lived there from about 1830 to his death. It was occupied by his daughters until their deaths, the last occurring in 1931, when it was acquired by the College. Mason sold the property for \$3,800 when he left Carlisle. He had evidently built upon it. The house was later occupied for a short time by Dr. George Duffield, and then for this long period by Mr. Moore and his family.

There was a tradition in the College as much as fifty years after Mason had gone that he drove to and from the College with his liveried coachman; and one looking at his portrait among those of the Presidents on the walls of "Old West" may easily believe that he was of them all the "gentleman of the old school."

The brilliant Mason came to Carlisle in poor health. In addition to his college labors, blow after blow fell upon him, in both his person and his family. He was long confined to his house with a broken hip from a fall; a married daughter

died; and his young son, who shortly after graduation from the College in 1822 began to teach in the Grammar School, was stricken during an epidemic of typhus fever and died the following November. The father shrank from the ordinary funeral eulogies and had arranged for no address, but as student bearers lifted the casket the father cried out in his anguish, "Young men, tread lightly, ye bear a temple of the Holy Ghost." Then, overcome by his feelings, he laid his head on the shoulder of a minister friend from New York, and said, "Dear Mac, say something which God may bless to his young friends." He did; a religious revival followed in both College and town, and many of the students became Christians, though college students generally at that time had very little use for religion.

Dr. Mason's life was under shadows, the darkest of which was his constantly lessening mental vigor. He returned to New York in 1824, after less than three years' service to the College, but never to any further work; and there followed, as one has said, "a steady verging toward a state of comparative imbecility." Mason's son had married a granddaughter of the old Principal Nisbet, and a number of descendants from that union survive.

WILLIAM NEILL—1824—1828

TRUSTEE MEDDLING

WHEN Mason resigned in May, 1824, Professor McClelland was promptly elected to succeed him, but declined. In July of that year, William Neill, pastor of a Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, was chosen. Neill was born in western Pennsylvania in 1778, and had come up through great tribulations. While he was yet a babe in arms, his father was shot and scalped by marauding Indians. The mother, crushed by the tragic death of her husband, died shortly after, and her six children were scattered among relatives. The son William determined to secure an education, worked his way to Princeton, graduating in 1803, when twenty-five years of age. He served Princeton as tutor for two years, studying theology at the same time under a local Presbyterian clergyman. He was then pastor of Presbyterian churches in Cooperstown and Albany, New York, and in Philadelphia. In 1815, during his Albany pastorate, he became Moderator of the General Assembly of his church.

Cooperstown, the place of one of his first charges, was named for Judge Cooper, father of J. Fenimore Cooper, the novelist, whose tales of Indian life have delighted so many generations of young people. Young Cooper was Neill's private pupil for a time, and Neill said that he was "rather wayward, cordially disliked hard study, especially of the abstract sciences; was extravagantly fond of reading novels and amusing tales. . . . His 'Judge Temple' [of *The Pioneers*] personates his father."

Neill's experiences in the College were hard, but not unusual. One writing of him shortly after his death said that his college experiences had taught him three things at least:

(1) That teachers should discipline their students;

(2) that schools should be in the hands of one denomination; and (3) that state patronage is dangerous to a college. The first of these was aimed at the trustee interference in discipline, from which he had suffered; the second at the lack of unity growing out of the interdenominational pretense of the College; and the third, at the state supervision following the last grant of state funds—a grant he himself, in the dire need of the College, had helped to secure.

During Neill's time attempts were made to secure the association of two theological schools with the College. In 1826, the Evangelical Lutheran Church was invited to locate its theological seminary in Carlisle in connection with the College, but chose Gettysburg, and thus probably became the basis for the college there. In June, 1820, the college trustees had learned that the German Reformed Church proposed to establish a theological seminary, and sought it for Carlisle in connection with the College. They offered a "suitable apartment in the college" for a term of ten years, and a part of the "college square," a hundred feet square, for the erection of a building, and admittance of the theological students to college classes without cost. Some other promises were made, one of them being house-rent for a professor, who was to do some teaching in the College. All this was conditioned on the use of English as the language of the seminary. The seminary was not founded at once, but in 1825 the old terms were accepted, and Lewis Mayer, President of the new seminary, became Professor of History and German Literature in the College, being formally installed as Professor in the College, April 6, 1826.

German Reformed Church notices of this effort to locate its seminary in Carlisle say that the arrangement with Dickinson College did not prove satisfactory, because the College was financially involved and found itself unable to provide proper accommodations for the seminary. Further, the college students did not desire to study German, and Dr. Mayer therefore found himself unable to make a proper

return for even the scanty favors which had been shown him. At any rate, the arrangement was soon modified, his Church assumed the cost of President Mayer's house-rent, and he himself tendered his resignation as Professor of History in the College. It was accepted by the Board, with the statement "that it is the desire of the Board that he retain his professorship of German Literature." He probably did so continue for a time, as his name occurs in college records of both May and July of 1828. The seminary itself continued in Carlisle till 1829, then removing to York, whence Mayer had come and whither he returned with it.

Reformed Church publications of the time suggest as reasons for the removal to York that the students of the seminary were spoken of as "plain people" and not at home in the cultured [English] atmosphere of Carlisle, therefore finding more congenial associations in York, with its predominantly German people; there was complaint also of unsatisfactory recitation rooms "exposed to the pranks of boisterous students" [of the College].

Efforts to secure other quarters in Carlisle for the seminary led to the erection of a new building by the German Reformed people, which was later bought by the College, and was long connected with college history. The Rev. John S. Ebaugh, pastor of the Reformed Church of Carlisle, erected this building without authorization of the Church at large, to provide suitable quarters for both his local church and the seminary. The general Church declined to share the cost, and as the local congregation was unable to carry the financial burden involved, the building was therefore sold by the sheriff in 1830. Ebaugh bought it; a year later he sold it to Henry Duffield for \$1,500; and, in 1835, it was bought by the College for \$2,050, becoming the home of the Grammar School. It was on part of the property now occupied by the Alumni Gymnasium, and was destroyed by fire in December, 1836.

About this time approaches were made to the College from three different and distant places to secure its co-

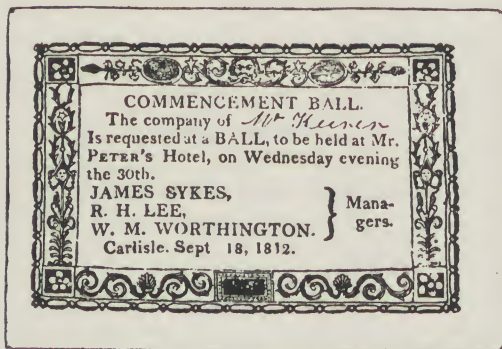
operation in the business of giving medical degrees. One of these, from Baltimore, offered ten dollars for each such degree granted by the College on the recommendation of the Baltimore parties. A second proposition came from Wheeling, West Virginia, then a part of Virginia, and the third was from the New York Medical Academy, whatever that may have been, to rent the college property. These offers were probably in the nature of the so-called "diploma mills" of our own recent past, and were all promptly declined.

Neill was probably not a brilliant man, and his only previous educational experience was two years as tutor at Princeton after his graduation therefrom. He seems, however, to have been a careful administrator, and might, with a fair chance, have had a successful administration—but this no Principal had for fifty years. The founding of the College in 1783 may have been premature, but when Neill came to it there had developed a real need for it. Possible student constituency had greatly increased through the years. The student body grew to 125 under Atwater, but declined, following internal troubles and lack of support; in like manner, shortly after Neill's coming, the college classes numbered 109, fairly well divided among the four classes [23 Seniors, 27 Juniors, 38 Sophomores, and 21 Freshmen], with 18 in the Grammar School. One year later the college enrolment was 106 [24 Seniors, 41 Juniors, 31 Sophomores, and 10 Freshmen], with 15 in the Grammar School, a total of 121. These records of college enrolment appear in two catalogues issued by Neill in comparatively modern form.

A report on this first enrolment of 109 indicates that 12 of them were "professors of religion," a strangely small number under present-day standards. The religious appeals of the time found little response among college men. This was true at Yale and Princeton, and one record of Princeton conditions states that "Religion was at a low ebb in the college and many of the students were dissipated and shockingly profane."

Every administration after that of Nisbet seems to have had serious trouble with students. Buchanan describes the lawless conditions of his own college time; Atwater complained of the difficulties of discipline; and, as previously recorded, two student duels occurred. During Mason's time a serious explosion of powder in the college building was followed by a fire, soon extinguished. Repeated attacks on a Professor's room and rebellions were the order of the day in Neill's time. There were endless restrictions and but little liberty. No student could leave Carlisle, or enter any eating-house, or "go into the town" at night [the College was beyond the town limits] without permission; and attendance on theatres, balls, or dancing classes was forbidden by the trustees, their yea and nay vote on the subject being 17 to 2.

Opportunities for recreation in the College had always been few, but apparently they were at this time reduced to the minimum.



Invitation to 1812 Commencement Ball

This ban on dancing in Neill's time shows the growth of prohibition of student opportunities for relaxation. Fifteen years before, dancing appears to have been tolerated; at least there was a commencement ball in 1812, and an old invitation to one Keener is yet in existence.

Keener was a member of the Class of 1810, but had not graduated. He was the room-mate of James Buchanan, and married the younger sister of the wife of Thomas Cooper.

There was then no playground, and no suggestion of any physical relaxation until "a ball alley" was finally erected

on the campus. There were innumerable "don'ts." If firm, decided discipline was ever needed, it was under such conditions, but there was no approach to anything of the kind.

From old records of Neill's administration, one example of disciplinary difficulty can be pieced together. Two students, Norris and Lyon, had been before the Faculty because they had been accused of breaking into the quarters of Professor Spencer and had joined in disorders in the dining-room. The Faculty began an investigation, but postponed final conclusion for three days. In the meantime they received notice from the trustees that they had taken summary action themselves and haled the students mentioned and another named Buchanan before a justice of the peace in Carlisle. On the facts developed before the justice of the peace, the Faculty recommended the expulsion of Buchanan and the dismissal of Norris and Lyon. The trustees expelled Buchanan but postponed consideration of the other cases for a later meeting. At this later meeting they dropped the Norris and Lyon cases entirely, apparently because the young men wrote them a diplomatic note and made promises for the future.

For once the Faculty asserted itself, insisting that the trustees were not keeping faith with them. Nothing came of it, however, and Norris and Lyon remained in College contrary to the judgment of the Faculty. Judgment of college matters by a final court not including any educators or anyone who knew the exact conditions in the College was bad, and subversive of good discipline. Of course, the Faculty would become hesitant in discipline under such conditions; and it is altogether likely that it let things get out of hand at times. It is even probable that the badgered Faculty was unsteady in its discipline, changing from laxity to severity, with actions at times inconsistent and hard to justify. The Faculty had a hard task. It was a sorry mess.

Buchanan's expulsion had not been a sufficient deterrent. Two students had beaten the Faculty in the case; other

disorders followed, especially in chapel, and every student was required to "solemnly promise that we will not participate in or countenance in any way or any time such gross violation of the laws of decency and religion." Seven students declined to sign this declaration and were sent home, and while five of them came back the general result was the further withdrawal of students.

A striking case of discipline at the time was that of A. O. Hiester, a member of the Class of 1828. He refused in disrespectful and abusive language to remain in Carlisle and study during the Senior vacation before his graduation, and was thereupon refused graduation. His father espoused his cause, writing a letter to the Faculty on December 3, 1828, containing, as faculty minutes record, "so much scurrility, so many abusive and unfounded allegations, and such an amount of gross and palpable misrepresentation, that we deem it unworthy of an answer." The trustees attempted to secure a reversal of the faculty action, but failed. Three years later, however, Hiester made his peace with the later administration of How, and received his degree. More than that, after having made good as a distinguished lawyer and judge in Pennsylvania, he was for nineteen years a trustee of the College, of which, indeed, the father also had been elected a trustee almost at the time of the trouble.

On the expiration of the five-year grant from the state to the College, of February, 1821, another grant of \$3,000 annually for seven years was voted. This grant was made on condition of a changed charter to limit ecclesiastical control, particularly specifying that not more than one-third of the trustee Board should be clergymen. The trustees showed their hearty acceptance of this change by resolving "That the names of all the members of both branches of the Legislature who voted in favor of the law passed, the 13th February A.D., 1826, making an appropriation to Dickinson College, be transcribed in a neat style and suspended on the college library."

Years before the trustees had ordered a list of their

benefactors, those who had given as much as £10, to be displayed in like manner and read at every commencement! In 1827, on the decease of Robert Coleman, a member of the Board, the College received by his will stock in the Carlisle Bank, worth \$1,000, with accrued dividends of \$140. The Board then made a Coleman addition to the list of the "benefactors of the Institution." Benefactions were so rare that they were quickly recognized. This Coleman bequest was made the security for many subsequent borrowings from the bank, and was held by the Carlisle Bank as security for a loan of \$800 when the later transfer of the College to a Methodist board was made in 1833.

State grants were about the only resource of the College at this time, and the College seemed in such a hopeless condition in 1832 that the last annual instalment was refused by the state. Nevertheless, the Board, in April, 1828, attempted to borrow money from the bank to erect a new building for the steward and for dormitory purposes, but the loan was refused.

At this time, as though its internal troubles were not enough, the College became the subject of an investigation by the Legislature by which it was being subsidized. On December 11, 1827, the Board took notice of the fact that there was criticism in the Legislature of the conduct of the College, and requested the Senator and two Representatives from the district to ask for an investigation, in case the matter was broached on the floor of either House; and an investigating committee of the Senate resulted.

The lack of harmony between the Board and Faculty appears in an action of the Faculty on January 28, 1828, on this proposed investigation. "The Faculty met and appointed Professor McClelland to represent them before the Committee of the Senate of Pennsylvania during the investigation by that body, of the affairs of this College; and he was instructed to use all fair means to secure a decision in relation to the Faculty, distinct from that which may be had in regard to the Board of Trustees. . . ." This of itself,

if known, would have shown the Senate committee that something was wrong. The investigation, however, resulted in no adverse findings, but its general effect was bad, for it brought the integrity of the College in question.

The year following this legislative inquiry, Principal Neill and his Faculty all left at practically the same time, as had been the case with Atwater's Faculty in 1815. The reason for this wholesale departure is uncertain, though a bitter anonymous newspaper article just before they left, and its reference to another, not available, suggest that the faculty members were at odds not only with one another, and probably uncertain as to their tenure, but that they were also at odds with the Board of Trustees, as might be expected.

Evidently there was much criticism of the Board itself during these later days. At least the Board was finally stung into a long and labored defense of its conduct of the College. In 1830, on the organization of the new Faculty, after Neill's withdrawal, it issued an appeal to the public "in refutation of the many malignant accusations and insinuations against the College, and especially the present Board of Trustees, made by their enemies [and] to unfold the *real causes* which have operated to the injury of the College and the disorganization of the late Faculty."

This defense of the Board covered the period of 1821 to 1830. It was long and labored, covering eighty-three closely printed pages. It does not seem to have made out a good case, at least Henry Vethake, who had served the College 1821-1829, made answer to it in a formal pamphlet, and apparently made good his contentions. Unfortunately for them the trustees had a poor case.

One of Neill's daughters married Dr. David Mahon of Carlisle, and their descendants have been outstanding people: among them is Stephen Vincent Benet, of the present generation, who wrote the great historical poem "John Brown's Body."

SAMUEL BLANCHARD HOW—1829-1832

ANOTHER HIBERNATION

ON NEILL'S withdrawal at commencement, September, 1829, the President of the Board announced the election of Philip Lindsley of Cumberland College, Kentucky, to succeed him. Lindsley, who was a graduate of Princeton of the Class of 1809, declined. He seemed to have been desired as president by some nine colleges, including his Alma Mater. Thus invited, he declined them all until 1825, when he became president of Cumberland College, which he served for twenty-five years.

Samuel Blanchard How was thereafter elected, and he accepted. He was born in 1790, graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1810, had charge of the Dickinson Grammar School 1810-1811, served churches in New Jersey for some years, and later a Union Church in Savannah, Georgia, 1823-1829. He seems to have been in Philadelphia when called to Dickinson, and was inaugurated on March 30, 1830. How was a man of ability and force, though this must be judged more from services elsewhere than at the College. Later he held a prominent position in the Dutch Reformed Church in North America, being pastor of the First Church of New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1832-1861, and President of the General Assembly in 1859. Some years before this he had been the protagonist of a North Carolina Synod applying for admission to fellowship with his church. The application failed on the slavery issue, even though How espoused their cause in a vigorous address, later published under the heading "Slaveholding not Sinful." He had probably adopted the southern view during his pastorate in Savannah. His position could not have been a popular one two years before the Civil War.

The Faculty was completed by the election of Henry D. Rogers as Professor of Chemistry and Natural Science,

Alexander W. McFarland for mathematics and the exact sciences, Charles Dexter Cleveland for languages, and later, on Rogers' retirement because of his failure to coöperate with the Faculty, Lemuel Gregory Olmsted to succeed him.

Among these members of the How Faculty, Cleveland stands out as the author of many books on literary and classical subjects. Among them are "Compendium of Greek Antiquities," "Compendium of English Literature," "Compendium of Classical Literature," "Moral Characters of Theophrastus," "American Literature," and "English Literature of the Nineteenth Century."

For the half year following Neill's departure in September of 1829, the college organization was very uncertain. Much of the ordinary college work was not offered at all, and the student body almost disappeared. A circular issued by How on March 8, 1831, one year after his arrival, gives data on the conditions he found. When his Faculty

was organized in May, 1830 . . . the number of students at that time connected with the College was fourteen; the number of applicants for admission during the first seven months following was twenty-two, of whom sixteen entered; and there are now several applicants for admission after the spring vacation. . . . The Government of the Institution is designed to be parental [a statement jeered at by many generations of students]. . . .

All the students are required to attend prayers . . . every morning and evening. Public worship is held and a discourse delivered in the college chapel every Sabbath morning; and on the Sabbath afternoon, there is a Biblical recitation, which is conducted by the President.

The price of boarding varies from \$1 to \$2. It may be obtained without difficulty at \$1.50. With economy, from \$125 to \$135 . . . will cover all the necessary expenses of a student for the year, exclusive of books and clothes. . . . (heretofore) the annual expenses (of the College) amounted to \$6100, to meet which 125 students were required. The present annual expenses are \$3400, to defray which . . . sixty-five students (are) sufficient. Preparations are now making for the erection of an additional edifice to accommodate students with lodgings, and near \$1500 have been already subscribed toward it in Carlisle. By a resolution of the board of trustees the New College building will bear the name of any individual who may contribute \$1500 toward its erection. [There were no bidders for the honor!]

This circular shows how sadly the troubles of Neill's later years and the resulting disorganization had affected the College. There were over one hundred students in college classes in 1827 and 1828; but only fourteen were present in 1830 when How's administration began, and very few seemed disposed to enter.

How was at the College two years, but he soon sensed the fundamental weakness of college conditions; and in his second annual report to the Board, September, 1831, the first one to be found in the college archives, he told them what he thought was wrong:

The history of our College may be considered as exhibiting a series of experiments, unhappily of a very unsuccessful kind. But I must ask permission of the Board to say that the failures excite no surprise in my mind & may be satisfactorily accounted for from the heterogeneous nature of the Faculty and its limited authority. Every nation & even different parts of our own country have their own peculiar habits, views and prejudices. When twenty years ago I was connected with the College, the Faculty was composed of most discordant materials. It excited wonder that they disagreed. Now instead of being surprized at their disagreement, I think it would have been almost a miracle if they had agreed. The sure method of producing discord in a faculty is to form it of persons of different habits, sentiments and views. In the College of New Jersey and in most if not all of the northern colleges an arrangement of this kind exists. The President of the College is generally ex-officio Presdt. of the Board of Trustees. Of course no appointment of a professor or tutor can be made without his being present at the appointment & generally his wishes are consulted. Again instead of looking abroad for professors and tutors they select the alumni of their own college. At least such I believe has generally been the fact for several years past. The consequence is that the Faculty is composed of persons acquainted with each other—accustomed to the same system of instruction & discipline & attached to the College as their Alma Mater. This is the system I earnestly desire to see adopted in our college. At present neither the professor of mathematics nor myself think the appointment of a tutor necessary—tho' perhaps it is proper to state the professor of languages earnestly desires it. The number of students is small—the present faculty can attend to all their recitations except in the department of natural sciences, & I consider it a matter of great importance that the funds of the College should be carefully husbanded. Its situation is critical—it is depressed & surrounded with foes—past misfortunes press heavy upon

it, & it requires not only the best counsels, but the active exertions of its friends in its behalf. The alumni of other colleges are exerting themselves nobly to promote their prosperity. Those of Yale College have resolved to raise for it the sum of One Hundred Thousand Dollars. Will not the alumni of Dickinson aid her in her depressed conditions?

Salvation for the College might have been possible at an earlier date, but the cure now proposed by Principal How was too late, and six months later he told the trustees that he saw no hope of keeping the College in operation under the then existing conditions. The trustees agreed with him, and the College was closed at the end of the term, March, 1832, as they recorded, for "some time to come." It was to be opened unexpectedly two and one half years later under radically different auspices, avowedly in charge of one of the great churches of the country.

During How's two years there were serious faculty divisions. How and McFarland were apparently in accord, while Cleveland was out of harmony with them, Duffield, pastor of the Presbyterian Church and a trustee of the College, agreeing with him. How and McFarland lodged charges before the trustees against Duffield and Cleveland, who countered with other charges. These charges resulted in many Board meetings, but as the College was about to suspend, the trustees suggested that all the parties involved withdraw their papers, charges and countercharges, and this was done.

When it had been decided to close the College, in view of "the sudden and unexpected suspension," a bonus of \$100 was voted to each member of the Faculty. Action was taken to care for some of their property, notably the libraries of the College and the literary societies, and things of a perishable nature were sold.

THE TRANSFER TO METHODIST TRUSTEES IN 1833

THE Methodist Episcopal Church first ventured on higher education in 1785 when it founded Cokesbury College at Abington, Maryland. The building there erected burned in 1795, and a second building, purchased in Baltimore for its use, suffered the same fate one year later. These two fires seemed to some of the Church leaders to indicate divine disapproval, and no similar attempts were made while these earlier leaders lived. Later, however, the Church sensed its need for higher schools. Augusta College, Kentucky, was founded in 1822, and by 1832, when Dickinson College suspended, there was a general movement in the Church to establish colleges. In 1831, the year before Dickinson closed, Wesleyan had been founded by Methodists in Connecticut, and two years later Allegheny College was taken over by Methodists from Presbyterian supporters. By 1840 the Methodist Church was supporting sixteen colleges.

The movement, of which this was only a part, was general, and was especially active in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Baltimore. In the Baltimore Conference the movement for a college began to take definite shape in March, 1829, through discussions concerning the need for a school of higher grade. This sense of their need grew in definiteness from year to year, as shown by later proposals to other conferences to join in establishing such a school. The Conference seemed decided on a college, and in 1831 seriously considered two sites, one of which would probably have been chosen but for hesitation because general legislation on the subject of education seemed possible at the General Conference of the Church in 1832.

But this General Conference took no decided action on the subject, and it was again before the Baltimore Conference for decision. In the interval, however, Dickinson College, in the territory of the Conference, had closed its doors, and

the possibility of taking it over must have been in the minds of many.

The Conference had knowledge of the College. It had met in Carlisle in April, 1828, and trustee action of March in that year had offered the use of the college chapel to the Conference for its ensuing session. The offer was accepted. The *American Volunteer*, a local paper, printed the following conference action: "Resolved that the thanks of the Baltimore Conference be tendered to the Faculty and Trustees of Dickinson College for the use of the College Chapel during the session of said Conference."

Just before its 1833 session, Rev. Edwin Dorsey, a member of the Baltimore Conference, inquired of the college trustees whether they would transfer the College to the Conference. He wrote:

The Baltimore An. Conference of the Methodist E. Church has appointed a Committee to take into consideration the propriety of establishing a college within its boundaries. The Chairman of that Committee, understanding that the Dickerson [sic] College had gone down, wrote to me a few days since, to ascertain whether it could be obtained for a Methodist Institution, and if so, upon what terms. He says, "We could make it very advantageous to Carlisle, as we should in a short time have one to two hundred students in the Institution, and would thereby throw into circulation many thousand dollars annually. . . . If it can be obtained and secured to Trustees appointed by our Conference, as the property, and for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church, we could go on at once to endow it and fix the Professorships. . . . If the College should have a Library of valuable character for sale, the Conference would purchase it on reasonable terms. My own convictions, if the Conference locate a College in Carlisle, it would be one of the first grade of respectability. Be so good, Sir, as to call a meeting of the Trustees, and submit this subject to their consideration. I should be glad to have an answer from the Board, as early as practicable. Our Conference will convene in Baltimore on the 27 Inst. when I shall be required to make my report."

The college Board held a special meeting on March 12, 1833, to consider the communication from "Rev. Edwin Dorsey . . . asking whether Dickinson College could be obtained for a Methodist institution, and upon what terms."

The Board unanimously agreed that "there being now little probability that any influence likely to be exerted will produce its [the College's] speedy resuscitation, so as to make it useful . . . for its original design . . . and this Board being impressed favorably with the subject, Therefore, Resolved, That . . . the subject is worthy of consideration of a general meeting of the Board." Such a general meeting was called for April 18 following, this date obviously chosen so that any action of the Conference, to meet April 2, might be before it.

The favorable reception by the Board of Mr. Dorsey's approach certainly influenced the action of the Baltimore Conference two weeks later. This action was as follows:

1st. Resolved, by the members of the Baltimore Annual Conference that it is highly expedient and proper that a college should be established within the bounds of this Conference, or contiguous thereto, either in connexion with some of the neighboring conferences, or separately by this conference and under its own control.

2nd. Resolved, That the transfer of Dickinson College including the buildings, books libraries, chemical and philosophical apparatus, etc., would be highly advantageous and ought to be promptly embraced by the members of this Conference.

3rd. Resolved, That in order to avail ourselves of this transfer, a committee of three be appointed whose duty it shall be to confer immediately and directly with the Trustees of the College aforesaid, for the purpose of ascertaining definitely and positively whether a transfer of their rights and privileges can, and will be legally made, and, if so, to unite with them in an application (if it should be found necessary) to the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, in order to the enjoyment and possession of all the rights and privileges now vested by law in the aforesaid trustees of Dickinson College.

4th. Resolved, That whenever it is ascertained that such transfer can and will be legally effected, this Conference pledges itself to the acceptance of the transfer and to the establishment and support of a college.

5th. Resolved, That a committee of twenty be appointed to whom it shall be the duty of the committee appointed to confer with the trustees of Dickinson College on the subject of a transfer as aforesaid to report, and said committee of twenty shall be clothed with discretionary authority to accept or reject the offers made by the said trustees of Dickinson College.

6th. Resolved, That forty trustees be provisionally appointed, that in the event that the trustees of Dickinson College shall consent, and be able in law to make a fair and full transfer of said college, that then and

in that case the premises shall be transferred to said trustees herein required to be appointed.

It was also

Resolved, That a delegate be appointed to attend the Philadelphia Conference to bring before that body the subject of the contemplated transfer and possession aforesaid, and to ask the coöperation of that body.

The Conference committee of three ordered in the third resolution, Messrs. Roszell, Hemphill, and Alexander, appeared before the general meeting of the Board of Trustees on April 18, at which fourteen trustees were present, and stated the case, presenting the above resolutions of their Conference. The Board then appointed a committee of three, Messrs. Watts, Duffield, and Hamilton, to confer informally and more in detail with the visiting committee of the Baltimore Conference, and to report to the Board on the next day, when three meetings of the Board were held. At the morning meeting there was informal discussion of the matters at issue. Growing out of this, at the afternoon session, Frederick Watts, for the Board's committee of conference, made the following report:

Whereas the present depressed condition of the Institution and the recollection of its history and the incidents connected with it for the past few years, induce us to express the decided conviction that any effort within the power of the present Board of Trustees to resuscitate it would prove utterly unavailing. This inability effectually and directly to act for the promotion of the original design of the founders of the College would naturally induce a desire on the part of every friend of literature and science to adopt any proper expedient by which the same end may be attained. The information communicated to your committee by the Gentlemen who compose the committee of the Balto. Annual Conference may be embraced within these general remarks. That the Conference resolved at their last meeting to establish a college within its boundaries or contiguous thereto, either in connection with some of the neighboring conferences or separately by that conference and under its own control; and that the resolution of our Board heretofore passed and communicated to the conference had induced the selection of Dickinson College as the place of its location: That the literary character of such college should be of high grade: and That funds were in the power of the conference so

to endow the institution as to insure the preservation of its character and give extent to its usefulness. These objects being in perfect accordance with the design and spirit of our charter the first consideration that required the attention of your committee was the ability of the conference to carry their design into effect. The general remark may be safely made that those colleges in the United States, which have been conducted by or under the patronage of some prominent Christian sect, have been more flourishing in their operations and useful in their influence than others which have not those advantages. The exertions now being made by the Methodist Episcopal Church in the cause of science and the zeal which they have already evinced on this subject lead your committee to believe that that portion of the Church which is embraced within the Baltimore Annual Conference will be able to resuscitate Dickinson College and make it prosperous and useful. And if as it is anticipated the neighboring conferences will unite in this project, it can scarcely be doubted but that success will attend it. That the College will be endowed is a prominent feature in the communication made to your committee, and is represented as being one which the conference will deem essential to the interests of the institution. On this subject your committee need only add their belief which all the circumstances within their knowledge induces, that it will be so endowed as to insure its permanency. Your committee is therefore decidedly of opinion that it is expedient and proper that the college edifice and all its appurtenances should be placed under the control of the Balto. Annual Conference: And it therefore only remains to be considered how this shall be done? Two modes have been considered, first by a legal conveyance and assignment of the estate and appurtenances. Secondly by a substitution of other trustees to be named by the conference or their constituted authorities in the room of the present ones, all of whom will resign. To the first mode there are several objections. The Board of Trustees under their present charter has not the power to convey the property and if the Legislature would give the power, it would not be necessary and perhaps not expedient, that it should be exercised. The possession of the property and the exclusive right to convert it into all the purposes of a literary institution seems to be all that is necessary and all that the conference requires: This can be readily attained by the second mode proposed; the resignation of a certain number of the present Board of Trustees—the election of others in their stead; the resignation of another number and the election of others and so *toties quoties* until there shall be an entire substitution. Whether this shall be an act of the Board of Trustees, or of its individual members or how far the Board should act in the business are considerations. . . . On this subject it is recommended as being proper that the Board should act in their official capacity as far as may be embraced within their corporate powers, and leave the individuals to act under the influence of such recommendations as the Board may make. They therefore offer the following resolutions:

Whereas the Board of Trustees of Dickinson College are satisfied that the condition of the institution, and the circumstances of its depression are such that there is no prospect of its speedy resuscitation under its present government; and as the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church has expressed its desire to take it under its control and patronage—its determination to elevate it to a high rank amongst the colleges of the country, and there is just reason to believe that under these auspices it will be largely endowed, whereby the design of the original founders of the institution will be greatly promoted and as a substitution of other trustees to be named by the said conference or their constituted authorities in the room of those who are now trustees, seems to be the most expedient mode of effecting the object.

Therefore, Resolved that it be recommended to each and every member of the present Board of Trustees to tender his resignation in writing at such time as the execution of the plan proposed may require and may be agreed on by the conference or their constituted authorities having power in the premises.

Resolved, That the substance of these proceedings be communicated by the secretary to every absent member of the Board and that he be requested to coöperate with us in this effort to promote the interests of the Institution.

Dr. Paxton [a Trustee] moved that this report and resolutions be postponed in order to take up the following: Inasmuch as the committee of the Baltimore Annual Conference have not brought with them any authenticated documents and that no part of the funds on which they expect to sustain a literary institution in this place has yet been raised. That they have not given nor can they give any pledge that a sufficient fund will be raised for the purpose contemplated; that we therefore, however much confidence we may have in the candour and integrity of the committee and the body which they represent, yet that we have not sufficient assurance of the ability of the Baltimore Annual Conference to carry into effect the objects proposed, in any reasonable time, to justify us in doing any act by which we would alienate the property of the College and thereby give up a certainty for an uncertainty.

Resolved, That this Board will hold itself in readiness at any time within one year, to procure the resignation of the present trustees and elect in their stead such persons as the Baltimore Conference shall name: provided that at such time and before such resignations and elections are effected the said conference will pledge some permanent fund to the amount of _____dollars, or appropriate the same for the endowment of Dickinson College.

Which motion being seconded, the question was put and negatived.

Dr. Paxton tendered his resignation to the Board which was accepted. (For reasons of resignation see paper filed.) [The paper so filed has not been preserved.]

The report of Mr. Watts for the committee was then unanimously adopted and at a third meeting of the day, held in the evening, the trustee record continues:

Mr. Watts offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed whose duty it shall be to embody the proceedings which have been transacted by this board at their last few meetings in the shape of a printed circular letter to be addressed and sent to each member of the Board at least twenty-one days before the 6th day of June next, and that such circular shall also notify the members that an election of trustees will be held on that day at ten o'clock A.M. in the college chapel, Which was agreed to.

This completed the official action of the Board preliminary to the transfer, but thirteen members of the Board bound themselves individually to each other and to the Baltimore Conference to complete the transfer, and on April 19 they signed the following paper:

In order to give an assurance to the Baltimore Annual Conference of our intention to carry into effect the recommendation of the Board of Trustees of Dickinson College on the subject of placing the College under the direction and patronage of the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We do severally pledge ourselves each to the other and to the said conference that we will resign our office of trustee at such time as the proposed arrangement shall be ready to be carried into effect and the constituted authorities of the said conference and the Board of Trustees shall be prepared to substitute others in our stead. Provided however, that if the proposed arrangement be not carried into effect, this declaration of our intention shall be considered as of no validity.

The committee of three appointed by the Baltimore Conference having thus performed the first part of their task, reported to the commission of twenty, which had power to accept or reject any offer of transfer made by the college trustees. This commission seems to have taken its duties very seriously, even considering again the advisability of the whole movement, though the Conference might be supposed to have settled that by its formal actions.

Dr. James A. McCauley, of the college Class of 1847, a member of the Baltimore Conference following his gradu-

ation, and President of the College for sixteen years, 1872-1888, furnished a series of articles for the first issues of "The Dickinsonian," the college paper, first published on the beginning of his presidency. In the third number of the paper, dated December, 1872, Dr. McCauley says,

They (the commission of twenty) met in May that year (1833), in the conference room in Baltimore, and in repeated sessions running through a week, the whole question was patiently considered. Several influential members of the commission, interpreting the Cokesbury failure as a providential inhibition of any further effort in the direction, set themselves in strenuous opposition to the founding of a college anywhere within our bounds. (An early educational attempt, Cokesbury College, had been twice destroyed by fire and abandoned.) Others, however, if not less superstitious, surely more sagacious, not only gave the project hearty favor, but advocated Dickinson with an earnestness and eloquence which, in the end, induced an affirmative decision. The transfer was shortly after consummated in the accession of a new Board of Trustees, effected by the process of alternate resignations and elections, carried on till the old Board was vacated and the new one constituted.

The general meeting of the Board called in Carlisle, with at least twenty-one days' notice to each trustee of the actions so far taken, and of the proposal to elect new trustees and complete the transfer, convened on June 6, 1833. Only twelve trustees attended this final meeting, two less than had been present at the previous April meeting.

In the meantime the Baltimore Conference's invitation to the Philadelphia Conference to coöperate with them in the enterprise had been accepted, and representatives of both Conferences were present in Carlisle on June 6 as their nominees for trustees in the new Board to be formed. Before proceeding farther in the matter, however, these representatives of the two Conferences presented a paper to the old Board, summarizing the conditions of the transfer. It was as follows:

In behalf of a convention of Gentlemen appointed under the authority of the Baltimore and Philadelphia Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church and now present in this Borough, we are instructed to inform you that in the measures proposed in regard to Dickinson College in certain communications recently passed between your Board and the

Baltimore Annual Conference or a Committee of the said Conference, the Philadelphia Annual Conference of the same Church on the invitation of the Baltimore Annual Conference has agreed to unite; and that the gentlemen who will be named to you for the filling of vacancies and for the substitution of a new Board are such as have been selected under the authority and from within the bounds of both the said Conferences.

To guard against misconstruction on the subject of funds or in regard to any endowment of the said College, we are instructed also to state that neither of the aforesaid Conferences has in possession any funds for these objects; nor have they any at their command or in their power in any other sense or manner than as they hope for success in obtaining them from the liberality of an enlightened public; to effect which, however, it is their purpose to use their best efforts.

We are instructed further to state that the said two Annual Conferences of the M. E. Church or any others which may hereafter be admitted into union with them in the management of the said Dickinson College, will at all times hold themselves at liberty to invest and secure any funds which may be raised by them or under their direction, in any way which they or their representatives duly appointed for this purpose shall judge best, whether in the name of Dickinson College or in any other mode which they shall judge preferable, and that your proceeding to fill the vacancies in your Board with the names of such gentlemen as are hereinafter named on the part of the said two Annual Conferences will be considered and received by the said two Conferences and by the Convention of Gentlemen now in this Borough and acting in their behalf, as an acquiescence on your part in the explanations herein given of the true meaning and intention of any communications or acts which have taken place between your Board and the Baltimore Annual Conference or its Committee in regard to the premises.

The following are the names of gentlemen now proposed for your election to fill existing vacancies in your Board.

REV. JOHN EMORY, Bishop of M. E. Church	
HON. JOHN McLEAN, Justice Supreme Court, United States	
REVD. STEPHEN GEORGE ROSZELL	DOCTOR. SAMUEL BAKER
" JOSEPH LYBRAND	JOHN DAVIS, Esq.
" ALFRED GRIFFITH	JOHN PHILLIPS, Esq.
MR. SAMUEL HARVEY	DOCTR. MATTHEW ANDERSON
" JOB GUEST	DOCTR. IRA DAY
" HENRY ANTES	MR. RICHARD BENSON
DOCTR. THEODORE MYERS	DOCTR. THOMAS SEWELL
" JOHN M. KEAGY	MR. HENRY HICKS

Signed by Order and in behalf of the Convention. STEPHEN G. ROSZELL,
Chairman. CHAS. A. WARFIELD, Secretary.

The transfer of the College to the new Board was effected according to the actions of the previous April meetings. Seats of members of the old Board who had not attended meetings or given reason for their absences were declared vacant by that old Board at its final meetings, and enough of those present from the Conferences to form a quorum were elected to take their places. The new trustees so elected then appeared and took the required oath, the President of the old Board resigned, and Bishop John Emory, one of the new trustees, was chosen President to succeed him. Before further resignations, the retiring President, Andrew Carothers, was voted the thanks of the Board "for his faithful and courteous discharge of his duties as President of this Board." All members of the old Board present then resigned and withdrew; and the transfer was completed and the new era began.

It could hardly be expected that such a transfer of such an old college could be made without exciting some criticism. Apparently, however, it was almost negligible at the time; for Dr. Paxton was the only member of the Board to raise any objection to the proceedings, and there was no increased attendance at the final meetings called, on notice, to complete the transfer. Criticism of the transfer was greater in later years, when the utter helplessness of the College had been forgotten, than at the time of the transfer, when everybody was aware of the sorry situation thus bettered.

There seems to have been at this time general approval of the transfer of the College to the new and more vigorous management, with its assurance both of financial and student support. The only possible ground for objection was a claim that it was a Presbyterian college, and as such had been transferred to the Methodists. Yet while Dickinson had been originally Presbyterian in inception and management, it was not at the time of transfer so in fact or in law. Any Presbyterian rights had been deliberately surrendered to secure state grants to keep the College alive; and those in control of the College had steadily denied before the public

that it was Presbyterian. On the basis of its undenominational character, it had received various grants from the state; and to secure its final grant in 1826, the Board had so changed its charter as to make any clerical control impossible. The Board not only did this, but so heartily approved of it all that they made a roll of honor of all members of the Legislature who had voted for the grant. The Legislature of the state took their professions at face value. When in 1828-1829 the Legislature seriously investigated the charge that the College was really conducted in the interest of the Presbyterian Church, the trustees denied the charge to the satisfaction of the investigating committee.

Irresponsible individuals through the years expressed their regret, and possibly their resentment, at what had been done in 1833; but in 1889, fifty-six years after the transfer, a fine two-volume "History of the Presbytery of Carlisle" was issued, and in this appears a variety of opinions of the men of that time on the subject, tinged by the thought that the Church had lost a valuable asset by the transfer. One of these opinions is that of the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, D.D., for many years pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Newville, Pennsylvania. It is part of his sketch of the life of Principal Neill of the College.

This transfer was made chiefly by the local trustees of the College, in response to overtures from individuals and officers of the Methodist denomination, accompanied by promises of large endowments and a rapid increase of students, and was urged forward by citizens of Carlisle as certainly promotive of the financial interests of the community. A petition was circulated by two members of the Board, as one of them informed the writer, and signed by men in business, requesting the transfer to be made. Dr. David Elliott was then pastor at Mercersburg and a member of the Board, but, as we learned from him, received no notice of the meeting at which that action was taken. The whole property, grounds, buildings and library, were transferred without any consideration to their original donors; a most unwarrantable assumption and exercise of power. Judge Chambers, who was a trustee of the College, in his tribute to the Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania, says, "The trustees of Carlisle and vicinity constituted its business board (or executive committee) for the management of most of the concerns of the College, and either discouraged by

failure of measures adopted to sustain the College, or from unhappy dissensions amongst themselves, chose to give away the institution with all its property and corporative privileges, and then abandon their trust by resignation, to make their donation effective." Local trustees have been the plague of many of our colleges, with rare exceptions, proving a hindrance rather than a support to many of these institutions.

Had Dickinson College, in Presbyterian hands, been wisely organized and efficiently managed, it would, in all human probability, have become one of the foremost institutions in our country. There was no more favorable location or larger constituency for a successful college under Presbyterian control in all this broad land. The alumni of Dickinson College, while under Presbyterian patronage and management, took rank with those of the oldest and strongest colleges in the country.

It may be noted that Dr. Erskine says "Had Dickinson College . . . been wisely organized and efficiently managed," and in this he concedes the whole case; for it was lack of such organization and management for fifty years that made the transfer possible, and that at a time when the College had suspended its operations.

Rev. William A. West, stated clerk of the Presbytery of Carlisle, wrote:

There was in Carlisle, belonging to us, a literary institution which was the rival of Nassau Hall at Princeton. . . . Dickinson College was virtually ours then, and might and should have continued to be ours. . . . But there was division, and with it weakness, if nothing more, when it was permitted to pass out of our hands. Perhaps in no other period in the history of the Church could the transfer have been made. Proverbially are Presbyterians "God's silly people."

These statements on the transfer may well close with that of Rev. Talbot W. Chambers, D.D., LL.D., pastor of the Collegiate Reformed Church of New York City, himself an old student of the College. His account seems reasonable, and more in accord with the facts.

I was a student in Dickinson College for a year and a half when Dr. S. B. How was its president, and ceased my connection only when its doors were closed. This calamitous event was due chiefly to two causes. One was the determination of the trustees to conduct its discipline instead of leaving that to the control of the faculty. An error like this would ruin

any institution under heaven. If the president and professors are not to be trusted, turn them out and put others in their places, but let not the trustees undertake to decide matters about which it is impossible for them to form a satisfactory judgment. The other was that the College was Presbyterian in fact but not in name. Its friends claimed for it an undenominational character so that they could appeal to the State for pecuniary aid. Had they forborne this delusive fancy, and applied to the church for means to support the institution as their own, failure would have been averted. But this was not done, and so our Methodist brethren came into possession, greatly to their advantage. At that day it was not uncommon for a Methodist minister to boast that the Lord had opened his mouth although he had never rubbed his back against a college wall, to which it was sometimes replied that the Lord had wrought a similar miracle in the days of Balaam. They needed an educated ministry, and were greatly aided in that matter by getting control of this institution, although it is reasonable to think that they would have prospered more had they settled in another community where the Methodist element was predominant. Still, severe as was the loss of the college to Presbyterianism—and its extent cannot easily be estimated—it is pleasant to think that this ancient seat of learning is under the management of a thoroughly evangelical body of Christians, among whom it is doing a great and good work.

PREPARATION FOR REOPENING

1833-1834

ALMOST the first act of the new Board was one of courtesy to a local church. "A communication was received . . . from the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church . . . requesting the Board to extend (the use) of the chapel of the college edifice on the Sabbath Day for public worship until the church now building . . . shall have been completed." This request was unanimously granted. Under like conditions this chapel had been used a few years before by the Protestant Episcopal Church. Other actions of this first Board meeting on June 6-8, 1833, were to place insurance for \$10,000 on the building [there had been none for six months]; to see that the grounds were properly protected by the repair of the old fence erected in 1803; to see that the books and apparatus were gathered and preserved, some said to be in private hands; to circularize the old alumni to secure the continuance of their interest; to take necessary steps to secure a revision of the charter and statutes of the College; and to reopen the Grammar School. When the Grammar School closed, three months before, there had been an attendance of twenty-five, and it was resolved that the community had good reason to expect the school to open as soon as possible. The teacher was to have \$600 per year if the fees amounted to that much, and half of anything over that sum.

Their financial problems were, of course, fundamental. They laid plans to raise money throughout the two interested Conferences. A treasurer was elected and empowered to take over from the treasurer of the old Board anything in his possession. A later report shows that this new treasurer received \$69.53 in cash, and a claim to the old Coleman bank stock of \$1,000, which was then held by the bank as security for a note of \$800. In addition to this note there were other

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obligations to the bank which made the entire debt about \$2,500 in excess of the cash and stock. This apparent excess of obligation, however, was somewhat more than covered by the unexpected payment of the final \$3,000 annuity granted the College by the state in 1826. The final payment was due in January, 1833, and the old Board had asked payment, but this had been refused because of the dying condition of the College.

A committee of the new Board appointed to apply for the overdue annuity received a letter from Governor George Wolfe giving his first reaction to their application:

The statement of the expenditure of the annuity of \$3,000 for which a warrant was drawn in January, 1832, in favor of the trustees of Dickinson College presented in the month of January last exhibited a balance in the treasury of that institution on the 28th of December, 1832 of \$158.25. Believing that the bounty of the Legislature was intended to aid the College only whilst it should continue to be operative, as such, a warrant for the annuity of \$3,000, which, but for the abandonment of the institution by both faculty and students, would have been demandable on the 1st of January, was refused upon the ground mentioned. There is nothing before me, at present, to shew the indebtedness of the College, or that it is in a condition requiring repairs, or that it is likely at any time hereafter to go into operation; there ought to be some evidence furnished of these facts, especially the nature and amount of its debts, the time when contracted, and the objects for which they were contracted. Upon a proper exhibit of the affairs of the institution, I presume there will be no difficulty in coming to a correct decision to the drawing of the warrant and payment of the money upon it.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, Your obedt. servt.

GEORGE WOLFE.

The committee evidently satisfied Governor Wolfe, as they were later able to report that they had received the state treasury check "after laying before the Governor a statement of the accounts of the institution agreeably to his accompanying note to the Committee."

On the last day of the first meeting of the new Board, in June, 1833, a Law School was authorized. A letter from John Reed, of the Class of 1806, and President Judge of the

Ninth Judicial District of Pennsylvania, residing in Carlisle, was presented to the Board on June 8. He wrote:

I have contemplated for some time past the opening of a law school in Carlisle; there is nothing of the kind, I believe, in Pennsylvania, and I can't help thinking it might be made extensively serviceable to the profession. It has occurred to me, within a day or two past, that some nominal connection with the College would be auxilliary to my views, and that perhaps it might not altogether be without advantage to the institution. My residence from next spring will be in the immediate vicinage of the College; I will be provided with a spacious office, and will have abundant leizure, from my official duties, to conduct the operations of a school of the kind I have referred to. I would not contemplate more than a nominal connection with the College. I have taken the liberty of suggesting the subject to you; if it is of sufficient importance, or can in any way be brought to bear in favor of the College or myself, I would invite your attention to it.

With sentiments of respect,

Your obedt. servt. JOHN REED.

This letter reached the Board during its final session, and was promptly referred to a committee with instructions to report within an hour. Their report approved the proposal of Judge Reed, and recommended that a Law School be established in connection with the College, but without expense to it; and that the College grant degrees to such students as might be presented by Judge Reed. The report was adopted, and Judge John Reed was elected "Professor of Law" in Dickinson College. Judge Reed thus became the first Professor of the reorganized College, and continued his connection with the College until his death in 1850. Some of the law graduates were among the most distinguished sons of the College. Andrew Gregg Curtin, of the Class of 1837, was the "War Governor" of Pennsylvania, 1861-1867, and was later Minister to Russia and a member of Congress. Alexander Ramsey, of the Class of 1840, was Governor of Minnesota as both territory and state, United States Senator, and Secretary of War. Nathaniel B. Smithers, of the Class of 1840, was Secretary of State of Delaware and a member of Congress. Carroll Spense, of the Class of 1842, was Minister to Turkey.

As an early action of this first meeting of the Board had been one of courtesy to a local church, so its final action respectfully requested the local papers to print resolutions of thanks to the people of Carlisle for their generous and hospitable treatment. In those early days hospitable welcome was open and general. Trustees from a distance were usually entertained in the Carlisle homes. There were many reasons for a hearty Carlisle welcome to the new movement in the College. The stage was well set. In March, 1833, the Carlisle *Republican* announced the possibility of a change in college control, and the business interests of the town were anxious for the change. Following the June meeting the same paper gives account of a public meeting in the court-house. The transfer was approved, and congratulations extended to all concerned on the happy issues of the negotiations. It expresses the hope that the local "feuds" which had caused trouble in the past might be no more, and that all might heartily support the College in its new venture. "Feuds" seem to have been ever present in the earlier days, and well known to the community, but just what they were will probably never be fully known.

Pursuant to adjournment, the Board held a second meeting on September 25, 1833, President-elect Durbin being present and sharing in their counsels. Durbin had been elected, and the salary promised him was a very modest one—but \$1,200, the same as that promised but never promptly paid to Nisbet fifty years before. More important to a man concerned to do some worthy work for the College was the fact that from the very first the trustees showed that they looked to him largely to direct the affairs of the College. Not only his position as President but his six years of experience at Augusta College made him their natural leader. He was their accepted leader for a dozen years; the Chief had come to his own.

The trustees at this meeting made the head of the Grammar School a member of the college Faculty, and arranged for seven college chairs—more, indeed, than the

College was able to support for many years. They appointed a committee to secure at least two changes in the charter, which were granted by the Legislature in April, 1834. By one of them the President of the College became *ex-officio* President of the Board of Trustees, so that he might take part in all their doings. By the other change, the Faculty of the College was made responsible for all college discipline, with appeal to the Board by any aggrieved subject of discipline in case of expulsion only. Discipline and a proper relation between the trustees and the Faculty had thus been established at the very outset of the reorganized, revived College.

At this second Board meeting \$1,000 was appropriated to put the college property in better shape. This statement might suffice, but for some interesting facts about the property as revealed in a later report of the committee. Contract for building a stone wall on two sides of the campus, south and east, was made on October 13, 1833, and was to cost "seven dollars & fifty cents per rod." The rocky and ungraded condition of the campus is shown by the grant to Samuel Neidich, the contractor for the wall, "the privilege of quarrying stone from the campus, if he can do so without injury to the same." Walks were laid out and the fine old trees which now adorn the campus seem to have been planted by this committee, at a cost of \$184.75. B. F. Brooke, of the Class of 1841, leaves record in his diary of a visit to the College ten years after graduation, thus: "I left Dickinson ten years ago. What changes! The trees of the campus are *grown*. *Then* they were young like myself." And George R. Crooks in his Centennial oration speaks of "the budding green of the newly planted trees of the campus" in 1834. [A recently fallen maple had about one hundred growth-rings.] The old double swinging iron gates at the southeast corner of the campus for sixty years were put in place, at a cost of \$83.97.

The report of the committee on repairs showed costs considerably beyond the \$1,000 granted, as "of the whole done

and now under contracts amounts to \$1400.50," and were directed to complete the work. It is interesting to follow the changes then instituted. The fence built on the north and west side of the campus was possibly the one so familiar to college students until the late eighties; and the stone wall on the other two sides with its pickets above was in fairly good condition until about the same time. The pickets disappeared in the early eighties, and only the sloping wooden coping remained above the stone wall, till in yet more recent years concrete took the place of the wood. President Reed had the western half of the southern wall removed, and planned to remove the remainder of the wall. The removal of the first part, however, raised a storm of alumni protest, and the remainder was spared. The part removed was restored by one of the classes during President Morgan's term. Another class continued the stone wall along the entire western side of the campus. More recently, under President Filler, part of the northern side of the campus also secured its stone wall. The stone wall thus begun in 1833 seems now a permanent feature of the campus. "Sacred is each grey old wall, Noble Dickinsonia." In recent years the plain old walls have been embellished by well-designed gateways at the several entrances to the campus, the gifts of various classes, years after their graduation. The first gateway was the gift of the Class of 1900, followed in order by 1902, 1905, 1906, 1907, and 1895.

The third meeting of the new Board was held the first Wednesday of May, 1834. The Secretary, Charles B. Penrose [grandfather of the late Senator Boies Penrose], himself a member of the old Board, and then serving as Secretary of the new one, reported that "every member of the Board elected prior to the 6th June, 1833, has resigned, or his office has been vacated under the rule of the Board except . . . (six men) none of whom have attended any meeting of the Board for more than two years past." The seats of these six were then legally vacated; thus disappeared the last legal vestige of the régime of Rush and Nisbet.

Eleven months before this meeting of May, 1834, the Board had planned for a canvass of the two Conferences for funds; and the matter of prime importance at the meeting was the report from their financial agents. They had previously decided not to begin college work till their subscriptions amounted to \$40,000. Rev. Stephen Roszell, agent for the Baltimore Conference, reported that he had received subscriptions of \$28,267.32, \$12,400 of which had been subscribed by the preachers of that Conference. He had been allowed \$1,203.13 for his support, so that the net amount was \$27,064.19. He thought they might rely on collecting at least three-fourths of this sum. Rev. E. S. Janes, agent for the Philadelphia Conference, later Bishop of the Church, reported subscriptions of \$21,955, \$13,600 of it from the preachers. The expense of the agent had been \$220, leaving a net amount of \$21,735.

How much of the funds thus subscribed had been paid was not reported, but none of it came at any time to the College for which it had been subscribed. Each of the two Conferences involved, the Baltimore and Philadelphia, at once secured a charter for trustees to manage all funds collected within its borders for the support of the College. The interest only was to go to the College, so long as the College was under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The result was that for more than thirty years the trustees of the College had absolutely no endowment funds of their own, though they received regularly the income from the funds held by the Conferences for them. In 1844, President Durbin of the College reported to the trustees that the College was "wholly dependent on the Conferences in whose hands all its funds are invested." During the campaign to raise funds for the College at the Centenary of American Methodism in 1866, a few contributions were made to the College direct, after which, for the first time, the College had direct control of a small part of its own endowment.

Reports of the two financial agents to the Board in May,

1834, then showed that they had considerably more than the required \$40,000 on subscription. They accordingly voted that the College should open for the reception of students on the "2nd Wednesday of September next, and that the President and Professor-elect be directed to be in attendance on same day of September to take charge and direction of said institution." The Grammar School opened the previous year was prospering, though its patronage was largely local, all but nine of its thirty-seven pupils being from Carlisle. Alexander F. Dobb had been employed by the Committee on the Grammar School. He was now unanimously elected by the Board, which also authorized the Committee to appoint an assistant to Dobb when they deemed it wise. Looking forward to the early opening of the College, the Board reaffirmed the plan for seven professorships, but proceeded to elect only a "Professor of Belles Lettres, including rhetoric, English literature and elocution, who shall be charged with the duties of professor of exact sciences, including pure and mixed mathematics, until a professor shall be provided to fill that professorship." Merrit Caldwell, of Maine, was unanimously elected, and was thus to give instruction for a time in no small part of a college course. The Board adjourned "to meet on the first Monday before the 2nd Wednesday in September next." This was the date for opening the College, and for a new and much better organized attempt to keep the College alive.

JOHN PRICE DURBIN—1834-1845

REBIRTH OF THE COLLEGE

JOHN PRICE DURBIN was elected President* of the College by the new Board on June 7, 1833, the second day of its first meeting. He was at that time editor of the *Christian Advocate*, the official organ of his Church, and accepted his election on condition that he could secure his release as editor by the time the "actual condition of the institution shall authorize its reorganization and require the presence and services of a Principal." His release from the editorship was arranged, and he met with the Board for counsel at their next meeting in September. He was not present at their third meeting in May, 1834, but attended their next meeting on September 8, 1834, and, in accordance with the recently amended charter of the College, took his place as President of the Board.

Durbin was a great man, quite worthy to be compared with Nisbet of the earlier days, though very different. Nisbet was trained from youth in the best schools, while Durbin at the age of eighteen was a journeyman cabinet-maker. Seven years later, however, he was classical professor in Augusta College in Kentucky; six years more, and he was Chaplain of the United States Senate, having declined a call to the faculty of the newly established Wesleyan University in Connecticut, to accept the chaplaincy; one year later he was editor of the *Christian Advocate*, the official organ of his Church; and the next year he was elected Principal of Dickinson College, at the age of thirty-three.

He was born in the hinterland of Kentucky in 1800. At the age of eighteen he had finished his cabinet-maker's apprenticeship and for a time worked at his trade. He had no academic opportunity. Having been "converted" at

*By the charter of 1783 the head of the College was its Principal, and the Professors were Masters. For fifty years the head was called Principal, but on and after June 7, 1833, the new Board called the College head its president. The charter was amended in 1879 to conform with this usage. From the first the Masters were called Professors.



PRESIDENT JOHN PRICE DURBIN, 1834-1845

a religious meeting, he became restless and anxious to preach. He revealed his anxieties to a wise old preacher, and on his advice took the steps which led him into the Methodist itinerancy. Thus he began preaching. All the time he was reading all the books he could get. His studies finally assumed some order, and he made his first aim the mastery of English grammar and the attainment of correct English speech.

The story of his study and the results seems almost incredible. Often he had only the single-room cabins of his frontier church people as a study, but he persisted in reading and studying. As he improved, the conditions of his work improved; he had better appointments and more intelligent associates and advisers. He secured tutors for Latin, and worked at Greek alone. An appointment near Cincinnati College gave him his opportunity. He entered the college, graduating in 1825, seven years away from the cabinet-maker's bench! He graduated, too, with such honor that the college at once conferred on him also the degree of Master of Arts. His outstanding record in college and elsewhere brought him an appointment to the chair of languages in Augusta College, Augusta, Kentucky. After six years' service, in 1831, he resigned, and came to Philadelphia, the home of his wife. Here his scholarship was recognized by the newly organized Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut, and he was chosen its first professor of natural science. He tentatively accepted this election, but another unexpected call interfered.

In 1829, while he was yet at Augusta College, he had been named by his friends for Chaplain of the United States Senate. The ballot resulted in a tie, and John C. Calhoun, the Vice-President, gave the deciding vote for the other man. Calhoun afterward said that he did so because the other man was of the church of his mother. Two years later, in 1831, Durbin was elected Chaplain. He said of this election, "This was very unexpected. . . . I had not solicited the place. . . . I did not know that any such project was intended until the fact was announced to me in Philadelphia." He was re-

leased from his Wesleyan commitments and accepted the Chaplaincy.

This distinguished honor did not come to Durbin by chance. The raw Kentucky lad of eighteen was at thirty the peer of any man in the American pulpit. His fame as a preacher was nation-wide. His pulpit power seemed almost wizardry, and adjectives fail those who attempt to describe the effects of his eloquence, by whose spell at times he moved vast crowds as he would.

While he was Chaplain came the centennial of the birth of George Washington, and extracts from his diary show the part he took. He writes:

Feb. 22, 1832—Today was one of the proudest days of America. One hundred years have rolled away since the birth of that greatest of men, George Washington. To celebrate this day in an appropriate manner seemed to be the desire of the whole nation. A joint committee from both houses of our national Legislature for the purpose of making arrangements for its celebration directed divine service to be performed in the Capitol. This was well done—wisely done; it will be grateful to the nation; we owed it to that God whose special superintending providence guided and supported us through our revolutionary struggle. The performance of the service was left to the two chaplains. It fell to my lot to preach. It was a heavy lot indeed. Yet I determined to speak in honor of my Master. I knew the rulers of the land would be there, and the Supreme Court, and the Bar; indeed, I never expect again to see such an assembly; I therefore determined to present the worship of God as a national obligation.

The address must have been one of great power. Even the copy of it is impressive, without the gifts of the orator. Durbin had no pseudo-modesty, and knew that he had made a profound impression, and so records in his own comments on the results:

Surely a whole lifetime will not be sufficient for me to express my gratitude to God for the special and unexampled aid he gave me on this occasion. Undismayed, because I trusted in the living God to be able to glorify him on this great occasion; calm, collected, and earnest, because I felt full conviction of the greatness and goodness of my cause, I chose the subject which would give me occasion to present these two great truths: (1) A special superintending Providence prepared the materials of our

national existence and independence, and made George Washington a special gift to us, as His peculiar servant to accomplish this great work. (2) That our stability as a nation depends ultimately on our national morals, which are intimately connected with the reasonable and constant service of God.

At the close of the discourse John C. Calhoun approached him, shook his hand, and said, "I advise you never to preach again," as this sermon, he assumed, could never be equaled. The same statement, in effect, was made by Governor Wickliffe of Kentucky. Three months after he had preached this sermon, in May, 1832, the General Conference of his Church elected Durbin editor of its church publications, though not a member of that body. He promptly accepted the position and entered upon this new work. In June of the following year he was chosen President of Dickinson College, being not yet thirty-three years of age, and only fifteen years from the cabinet-maker's bench.

It is hard, even impossible, to give the fine flavor of the work Durbin did at the College. The men he gathered about him in his Faculty showed his almost unerring instinct in the choice of his fellow workers, and the methods of instruction he introduced seem far ahead of the time in which he lived. Personally, he baffled description; it was hard to select this or that excellence in the man, as can usually be done, for on almost every side he seemed to be outstanding, and was easily the leader in practically every field of endeavor he entered. His old students, thirty and forty years after he had left the College, on their return would indulge in reminiscences, as is the wont of the "old grad," but when they came to Durbin it was almost with bated breath that they spoke. He towered in their thought; and many an aged or aging alumnus yet recalls the deep reverence with which the yet older men of town and College spoke of Durbin, of his preaching, his power in prayer, his supreme excellence as a man. He seemed to them as a man apart.

That Durbin was a man apart and difficult to place is shown not only by the chance testimony of the "old grad" on

his visit to the College, but by the more definite attempts of three of them to estimate the man. These attempts were made many years after the writers had left College, and show by what they do not say how hard it was to classify the man.

Benjamin F. Brooke was one of Durbin's students, of the Class of 1841, and was given the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the College in 1871. In 1851 Brooke visited the College as a Conference Visitor from the Baltimore Conference, and has left a diary of his musings on the occasion. Quotations from this diary give his idea of some of the men in the Faculty of his time—ten years before, Durbin among them. He says:

Dr. Durbin addressed the imagination. I remember one of his addresses . . . when a wave of electricity seemed to pass through us all.

He set the students thinking. . . .

We sometimes thought him speculative—but he generally put his doubtful points in the way of question, and left us to think them over. We had many a discussion over his intended meaning. . . . It was a successful move of interesting us in his personality and in the subject generally.

I shall never forget one of his sermons that thrilled every one of us. It was an apostrophe to religion. Speaking of its benefit to the world, he closed the passage with tears—real tears—in his eyes, "O religion, child of the skies, if *thou* wouldst dwell with us, what a world would this be of ours!" It seems simple enough, but the effect was wonderful.

Some said Durbin had no sympathy and no heart, and yet he exhibited more pathos and feeling in his public speaking than any other man I know. He touched the passions and melted the heart. The students used to argue about it; some said his feeling was put on as an actor puts on a character he himself does not possess. Others said: "If that is so, how do you account for the tears that sometimes come to his eyes; they are real tears. They can't be feigned."

So wrote Brooke of Durbin after ten years.

James A. McCauley, President of the College from 1872 to 1888, was of the Class of 1847, and was a student for one year during Durbin's administration and two years of that of Emory. "The Dickinsonian," the college paper, first appeared in 1872, and McCauley contributed several articles on the history of the College. In one of these articles he

gives some estimate of the Faculty of his time. Of Durbin he said, *inter alia*:

He brought to the position some experience in the work of instruction and the fame of great eloquence in the pulpit; but it soon became evident that he possessed, in addition, many of the best qualities of a College President. Vigilant, forbearing, firm, he knew how to exercise effective discipline with the smallest measure of severity. Fertile in resources, of energy that rested only with success, he was peculiarly fitted to grapple with the difficulties that lay around the College in its second infancy.

W. Lee Spottswood was a Carlisle boy and graduated from the College in 1841. He became a distinguished clergyman, and head of Williamsport Dickinson Seminary. In his "Brief Annals" of his life he says:

The lecture room of President Durbin was a place of pleasure. It often became the scene of discussion on many subjects, not directly bearing on the assigned lessons. The students may have thought they had outwitted the teacher, but he knew what he was doing—he knew that such a discussion . . . was far better than any mere recitation from a textbook.

Dr. Durbin was a great man.

One outstanding act of Durbin's years at the College was not in the college life, and seems to have been almost forgotten. He was at the very center, if not himself the center, of the seething issues of the General Conference of his Church in 1844, which led to a divided Methodist Church, one North and one South. In 1844, the Philadelphia Conference elected Durbin to head its delegation to the General Conference, and he thus became a member of the Committee on Episcopacy, the most important committee of the General Conference. This committee made Durbin its chairman, though he had never before been a member of a General Conference. He thus became the official spokesman of the Committee on Episcopacy on the floor of the General Conference. Bishop Andrew had recently married a woman owning slaves, and this raised the question whether a man thus connected with slavery could be acceptable to the

Church at large as a General Superintendent, the official title of the Bishops. The northern delegates answered "No," but the southern ones said "Yes," and asked under what law of the Church could the rights of such a man be questioned.

It was the period of growing opposition to slavery in the North, and of corresponding sensitiveness of the South on the subject; and representatives from each section stood fast for the position of their respective section. For weeks the controversy raged, with men of great ability ranged on each side. The South was willing that the offending bishop should not serve conferences to which he might be objectionable; but Durbin's answer was that so would the General Superintendency be destroyed, that the Church had gradually lessened its restriction on slavery to meet the local necessities of the South, but that it could never be satisfied with any concession "that shall impair our itinerant General Superintendency." In his closing speech for his Committee on Episcopacy Durbin pleaded with his "brethren of the South" to yield the point, but to no avail. It was "Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Conference that he [Bishop Andrew] desist from the exercise of his office so long as this impediment remains." A divided Church to this day was the result.

Philadelphia Conference was then a border Conference, including Delaware and the Eastern Shore of both Maryland and Virginia, and only two of its six delegates sided with the North. These two were Durbin and Levi Scott, the latter afterward for some years in charge of the Dickinson Grammar School, and yet later a Bishop of his Church. Jesse T. Peck, also, delegate from a New York Conference, and soon to become President of Dickinson College, stoutly supported Durbin's position on the floor of the Conference; while Bishop Andrew, the innocent cause of it all, had been a trustee of the College, 1836-1839. This same slavery issue in another form threatened the prosperity of the College in 1847, because of an incident in the life of Professor McClin-

tock in Carlisle; and yet later, in 1861, it nearly disrupted the College on the outbreak of the Civil War and the withdrawal of southern patronage. Slavery was beginning to affect all kinds of relations.

The Board, in May, 1834, had adjourned to meet on September 8. Durbin was present at this September meeting and presided over it under the provision of the recently amended charter, the first time a President of the College so presided. He made recommendations to the trustees, for their "examination, sanction and promulgation." They gave them all careful consideration, adopting some, modifying others, and postponing or denying some few altogether. For the first time there was coöperation of the trustees and President in their common task. College affairs were to be in the open, and were to be directed largely by the man chosen as the educational head.

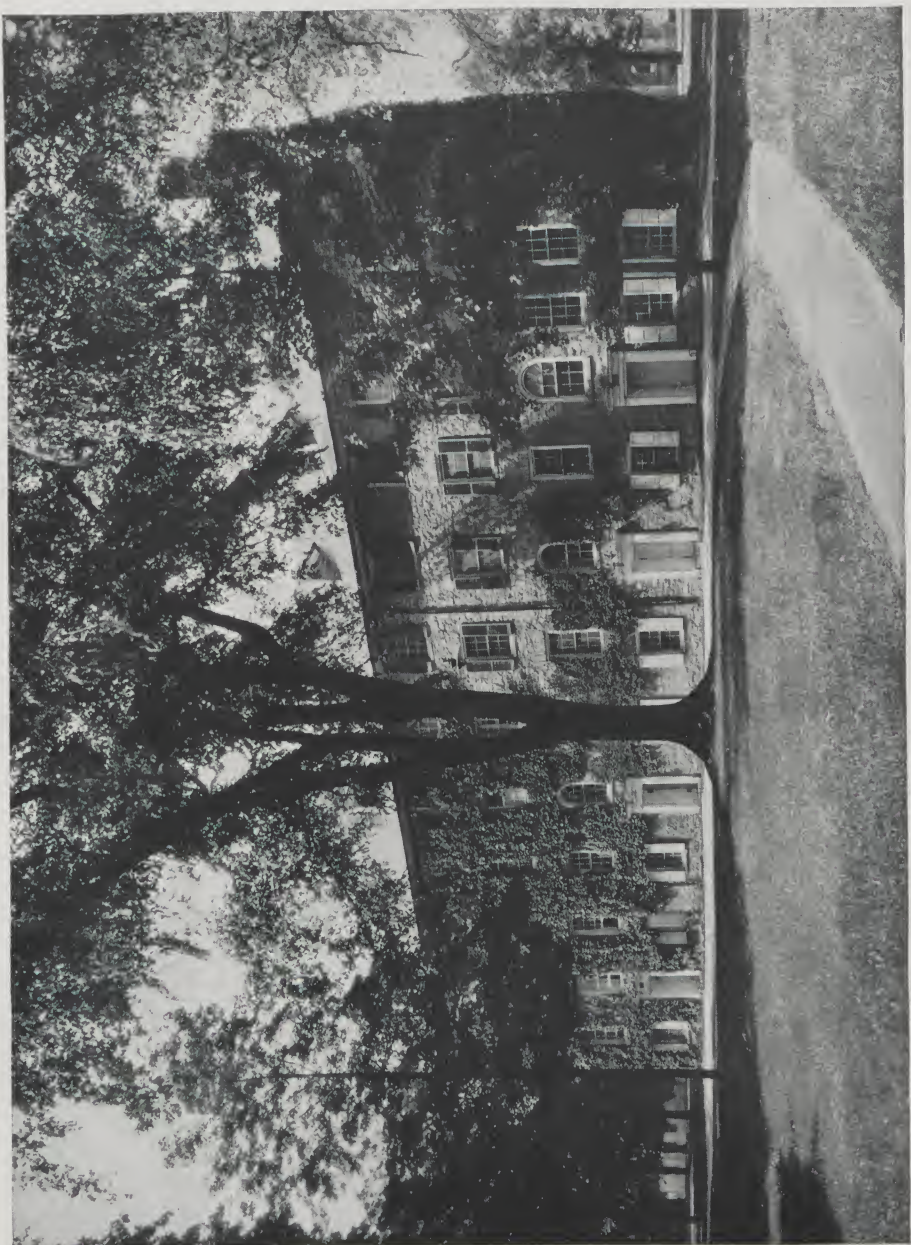
Robert Emory, a graduate of Columbia College, was elected Professor of Languages at this September meeting. He seems to have been present by arrangement with Durbin in anticipation of his election. Two years later, in 1836, on addition of the two upper college classes, the early Faculty was completed by the election of William H. Allen and John McClintock, evidently on Durbin's recommendation. Allen, a graduate of Bowdoin, came as Professor of Natural Science, and McClintock, a graduate of Pennsylvania, for Mathematics. The President of the College was now to choose his Faculty, as Principal How in his report years before said should be done. The Faculty was to have a recognized chief, even as today. The educator had come to his own in college management.

Durbin made one curious suggestion, that the spaces between the walks of the campus be used "for cultivation of vegetables and shrubs," provided it be done by the students and without expense to the Board. This was allowed, but whether the vegetables were grown is not known. It probably was then a reasonable proposal, for the campus must have been largely a neglected waste with its one lone build-

ing in the midst of possible stone-quarries, as has been shown. The campus today does not suggest the plan to raise vegetables, but there are alumni yet living who have seen them growing on choice parts of it. West College furnished a home for one Professor till 1890, and all the northwest corner of the campus was that Professor's kitchen garden. It was a rectangle with two sides on College and Louthier streets, the other two sides being lines drawn west and north from the southwest corner of West College.

The President of the College, with residence in the east end of East College, had even better provision. There was a kitchen garden on the northeast portion of the campus, with stable, carriage-house, etc., and here grew the presidential cabbages and onions. South of his residence was a flower garden, extending nearly half the distance to the southern limits of the campus, and slight remains of this flower garden may yet be seen. A gate at the southern end of this flower garden leads into a lovely walk. "Lovers' Lane," as it was generally called, appears in the illustration. Its southern end is in the foreground. The condition of the grass shows that the picture was taken in the earlier years, when the dairyman made hay from the campus just before commencement.

President Durbin suggested another change in the physical property, which also was approved by the Board. Entrance to the college building, later called West College, had before been by doors to the first or basement floor, with stairways within the building leading to the other floors. On Durbin's suggestion, middle windows of the ends of the building on the second floor were enlarged to doors, and outer steps were built, so that the second floor could be entered from without, as was later arranged in the building of East College. Latrobe's plans for West College in 1803 contemplated a larger use of the lower floor than was likely to be acceptable thirty years later; and this proposal of Durbin was the first step in the movement which for a time disregarded this floor altogether.



EAST COLLEGE



“LOVERS’ LANE”

Durbin had assuredly come to stay. The Board meeting was only the beginning of his eleven years of service. The College was again to open, even though there were only two classes, Freshman and Sophomore, and three teachers, the President and two Professors.

On Wednesday, September 10, 1834, all the college circle met—Trustees, President, two Professors, Principal of the Grammar School, students and as many of the old Board as had accepted a special invitation to join in the exercises—and went in a procession to the Methodist Church in Church Alley for the inauguration. Here President Judge Reed administered the oath of office to Durbin, Caldwell, and Emory, and to Dobbs of the Grammar School, after which Durbin made an address. Dr. George R. Crooks, of the Class of 1840, and later Professor in the College, in his Centennial oration of 1883, tells of his coming to Carlisle from Philadelphia at this time, for the six years of his student life in Grammar School and College, and of this new college opening.

What a scene of calm repose lay before the wondering eyes of the city boy! The old College, graceful in its unadorned simplicity, the budding green of the newly planted trees of the campus, the haze of the blue that softened the aspect of the mountains on either side, made a picture which stamped itself forever on the memory. Nor care, nor grief, nor toil, nor absence can corrode one of its outlines, or dim a single tint. Surely this was "the Happy Valley" shut in and consecrated to quiet meditation and blissful thought! A school had been opened, and under Alexander F. Dobb, a thorough drill-master of the English style, boys and youth were making good progress in the classics. . . . A sweet homelike feeling pervaded the school, for this was the blossom time of tender hope. The old tree which had borne the blasts of half a century was putting forth the promise of a new fruitage. On the 10th of September the procession of President, trustees and scholars was formed, and we marched to the plain old church in Methodist Alley, where Dr. Durbin delivered his inaugural address. How many such processions had Carlisle seen, how many openings and reopenings whose bright promise had faded away into the darkness of the night, and whose broken hopes had saddened devoted hearts! Would this one, bald in its simplicity, foretoken success or failure? It meant success; not because the new organizers were more tenacious of purpose than the old, but because Dickinson College had now become one in and with itself.

Hereafter it was to have but one spirit; but one purpose, and that avowed; one source of sustenance, the Church, of which it was to be the organ. Poverty was before it, trials were before it, but in all the poverty and all the trials it was understood that Dickinson College was to live or to die, as it was sustained or not sustained by the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The annual meeting of the Board had been fixed by the by-laws for commencement time in mid-July, but when this Board meeting of September, 1834, adjourned it was to meet in special session the first Monday of the following May, and they so met. The business for this meeting was largely outlined by President Durbin in the report he read at once to the Board. "In reviewing our past progress and present condition, we have much reason to be encouraged," he reported; also that their enrolment was 5 Sophomores, 14 Freshmen, and 85 in the Grammar School. He advised the endorsement of a proposal of the committee on the Grammar School for "the purchase and fitting up the grammar school edifice, amount, say \$2500"; also the granting of honorary certificates each year, under seal of the College, to the leading student in the College and to the leading student in each department of the College. This was an earlier approach to the present system of honors to all "A" students of the College. Durbin's report was under nine heads, and nearly all that he advised was endorsed by the Board or postponed for consideration at the annual meeting two months later.

At last the head of the College was to direct its activities. Board meetings were few, for it was yet difficult for men at a distance to reach Carlisle. The railroad through the Cumberland Valley was opened in 1837, and the trustees lived as far away as Baltimore and Philadelphia, with only ten of them within twenty miles. The college government was not to fall into the hands of these local trustees as in the near past; there was to be no small number of the Board hovering over the College ready to interfere with its management. The President and Faculty were to be in charge.

Two classes only had been provided for on opening the

College in 1834, but a third one entered in 1835. When the trustees met, July 20, 1836, Durbin was able to discuss a College now almost fully developed, with three classes. Part of his report follows, because it shows both the man and his college methods.

Gentlemen: As the organ of the Faculty I greet your return to your annual and arduous duties with great and peculiar pleasure. The past year has been one of great peace and prosperity to your College. It would form a bright page in the history of public literary institutions. It gives us great pleasure to testify to the good order and gentlemanly deportment of the students and pupils generally. To this there have been very few exceptions; we have reason to believe that their conduct towards the citizens and in the town generally has been honorable to themselves and pleasing to the inhabitants. Their attention to study has been very satisfactory. The morals of the students and pupils are good and a goodly number are members of the several churches in the town. Their attention to the religious exercises prescribed in the Statutes has been very satisfactory to the Faculty. They have attended chapel regularly and with great decorum. The same may be said of their attendance upon public worship in the town. This general good order and good condition of the College and Grammar School may be fairly attributed to the sound and honorable principles which we believe to prevail among the students and pupils—to the mode of discipline used in the institution—and to the social and friendly feelings which it is endeavored to maintain both between the Faculty, the citizens, and the youth. These general principles we have been very careful to impress upon the youth and take pleasure in believing that they have been cheerfully imbibed by them. . . .

The method of instruction in the College is by regular and careful recitation accompanied with free and unrestrained enquiry and conversation on any or all points either directly or collaterally involved in the subject. The students know that they are at liberty to make these free enquiries or to propose and discuss any questions. They are encouraged to it. This process while it enables the instructor to satisfy himself of the knowledge of the students in reference to the particular subject calls into action his intellectual powers and accustoms him to think and investigate while the communication with the Professor directs his thoughts and stimulates his investigation. Thus the true object of a collegiate education is obtained, viz., to develop and discipline powers of the man.

The President further announces in the catalogue of 1836-1837 his conception of what the College should do for a man. He says:

As it is conceived, however, that after all the great design of education is to excite, rather than to pretend to satisfy an ardent thirst for information, and to enlarge capacity of the mind, rather than to store it with knowledge, however useful, the whole system of instruction is made subservient to this leading object.

An additional report throws some light on college conditions. From the foundation of the College, some of the trustees had been present at most college examinations, and this custom continued until about 1870. These visiting trustees, in 1836, reported to the Board their "gratification in noticing the friendly and affectionate intercourse between the Professors and students, also for the discreet and gentlemanly deportment of the latter, which greatly encourages them in the future prospects of the institution." Dr. Crooks, already quoted, said, "The members of our first Faculty taught as much by their virtues as by their formal lessons." Such was the College Durbin had organized in his first two years, and "the method of instruction" as described in his report seems very modern, and can hardly be improved upon after a century's intensive study of methods.

Faculty and student relations were friendly, but discipline was not lax; students were not allowed to do what seemed right in their own eyes. On the contrary, as a disciplinarian, Durbin seems to have been rather severe than otherwise. He was doubtless aware of the earlier troubles of the College from lax administration, and took pains to see that they were not repeated. Durbin had a troublesome case of discipline in 1839. Two members of the Freshman class were required to withdraw from the College toward the close of their first year. Their transgression occurred in carrying out some class program, and a number of their classmates refused to attend classes until their two representatives were restored. These classmates also were required to withdraw. One of the literary societies asked mercy for one of the men, a member of the society. Another like petition was signed by fifteen members of the Junior class. [Of the fifteen, four were later to go to Congress and one to

become a Bishop of his Church.] The petition was somewhat combative, opening with "*justitia fiat, coelum ruat.*" However, it plead for mercy, as the two men had acted under public pressure, so that it was difficult for them to retract; they were, however, "willing to make some concessions."

Durbin answered these friends of the offenders: "While we do not doubt your good intentions in your communication of this morning, we think it proper to state once for all that the only parties in the case of the college administration which we can admit are the Faculty and the offenders. The Faculty has never denied access to any offender who wishes to approach them properly and for proper purposes; nor will they in this or any case, if made *individually.*"

To the trustees' meeting three weeks later, Durbin reported, "We have been obliged . . . owing to a pure question of authority, to which decided resistance was made, to separate some members from College. The continuance of the separation will depend upon themselves. The young gentlemen took a resolution which left the Faculty no alternative . . . not to attend any college exercises until the Faculty restored two of their number, whom they had occasion to dismiss." He suggested that "their absence and the advice of their friends may produce the proper results." Such appears to have been the outcome, for most of them made the necessary concessions in writing, yet on file, and were later reinstated.

This case shows with what logical precision Durbin conducted the life of the College. He had general principles of policy and administered accordingly. He had responsibility coupled with authority, as none of his predecessors had ever had, and acted with assurance.

Durbin made much use of the signed pledge of transgressors, and some of these are yet in his files. One paper, signed by six students on February 7, promised to "stop chewing tobacco . . . till the April vacation." For one of them the pledge was to become effective February 10. His supply of the weed was probably too dear to be lightly discarded!

February 7th 1844.

We do, from this day till the April vaca-
tion, ~~the~~ hereby promise, upon our word and
honor, to stop chewing tobacco.

L. W. Lattinins,
H. G. Helchew
J. Henry Collins.
John H. Brown
* Edwin Boswell
William Wallace

* This gentleman's pledge does not
become effectual until Sat Feb 10, 1844.

A curious student pledge to President Durbin

Another pledge is a confession of a broken promise to abstain from cards and a written renewal of the former oral promise, together with surrender of a new deck of cards.

There is a book of Durbin's notes on almost numberless cases of individual discipline, for petty offenses, as it would seem today. Absence from rooms at improper times, being in the town at night, playing cards, were some of the offenses visited with penalties. Most frequent of all was absence from chapel, with excuse in one case that the student's parents did not wish him to endanger his health by going out so early in the morning.

Judged by present standards, his rule would be called arbitrary, but there have been revolutionary changes in a hundred years. The liberties granted to or assumed by the youth of today would have been universally regarded as dangerous license in Durbin's time. The college catalogue of fifty years ago announced that the government was "mild and paternal." The youth of the period was disposed to jeer at this, and one of the earliest student publications

caricatures this in a picture of the high-hatted Professor leading two meek students through the campus, one by each hand.

Durbin's book of memoranda shows that the Faculty also seemed to him to need rules of order. He presided over their meetings and had rules for their conduct. There was to be "no desultory conversation nor reading nor writing during the transaction of business, [and] each Professor shall keep his seat until the regular business is disposed of." The trustees under the old régime had disciplined the Faculty to their hurt. Durbin did it for their efficient work, though it seems strange that such regulations were needed in a faculty body of never more than six or seven.

Durbin's discipline of students and Faculty alike may have been severe, but both seemed to like it. His old students really revered him, and he was able to say on leaving the College that he had never had an unpleasant experience with any member of his Faculty. It is a safe guess, from observation and experience, that we are so constituted as to accept authority gladly when it is wisely and evenly applied.

One session of the Board during the meeting of 1836 was held at 5 A.M., evidently before breakfast, as after a two-hour session there was adjournment to meet again at 8.30! Such early morning zeal seems strange today, but daylight was precious, for candles were poor, and meetings were seldom held at night. But was it easy for students, summer and winter, to attend 6 o'clock chapel, and go to recitation immediately thereafter? There are records of many penalties for morning chapel absence. Not only the college students suffered from the college requirement of early hours, but the members of the families of local Carlisle students as well. There exists an old petition or protest on the subject. It was signed by representatives of well-known Carlisle families, and prayed for relief from the unnecessary early-rising burdens on their families so that the sons might attend college chapel. They suggested at the same time that the family altar was better than the college chapel for their sons.

The first college building on the campus had burned in February, 1803, and a new building was begun in the summer following, but was even yet unfinished in parts when Mason became Principal in 1822. The next building added to the plant was an old Reformed Church building on the site of the present Alumni Gymnasium. Its purchase came about on this wise. On Durbin's arrival in 1834, the Grammar School had increased to fifty students, and he and the proper committee were authorized by the Board in September to secure room for the school "and make preliminary inquiries for the erection of a permanent building in conjunction with a suitable boarding house for its accomodation." The Grammar School increased almost at once to eighty-four. Some of these roomed in the one college building, but most of them roomed in the homes of Carlisle, and some must have had but indifferent accommodations. The crowded condition of the School this first year was doubtless a surprise, and Durbin undertook its needed relief at once, between trustee meetings. He appears to have appealed to the trustees individually on a proposal for the purchase of a new building. While the text of his appeal is lost, a paper sent him, signed by nine trustees and dated January 7, 1835, indicates its tenor.

The undersigned trustees of Dickinson College, having been informed that the lot opposite the college edifice at Carlisle which is now owned by Mr. Duffield, and on which is erected a building formerly occupied as a church, can be obtained for the sum of fourteen hundred dollars, and that the same can be advantageously converted into a house suitable for the preparatory school, hereby express their approbation of the purchase of it, if in the opinion of the committee on the preparatory school it should be proper. It is, however, proper to be remarked that it is the desire of the undersigned that nothing should be done, in effecting this arrangement by which the other estate of the trustees shall be incumbered or in any manner embarrassed, and the above expression of their approbation of the purchase is not to be construed as an intimation of an intention to pledge the said estate for the payment of the purchase money.

The price for which Durbin thought the property could be had was wrong; for shortly after this reply of the nine,

the property was bought by the College for \$2,050. This property, which, as previously stated, included the local German Reformed Church and its general Theological Seminary, became the nucleus, as Durbin developed it, for the old South College.

At the special meeting of the Board on May 14, 1835, Durbin reported on "the obligations incurred and incurring . . . in the purchase and fitting up the Grammar School

edifice, amount, say \$2500." Fortunately, they had in July, 1836, insured this building for \$2,000. December 23, 1836, it was destroyed by fire, "totally destroyed," said the local paper; and Durbin reported to the trustees in 1837 that a new building was go-



Old South College

ing up, but that it would cost \$3,825 more than the insurance money. The new building would furnish recitation rooms for 150 pupils on one floor, and suite for two instructors, with rooms for 20 pupils on a second floor; and another floor would duplicate this, unless used by a steward to board the pupils. As just mentioned, this became the old South College, known to students prior to 1885, when it was encased in brick. Yet later an addition was built to the south, leaving the same northern front. At two different times adjacent properties were purchased, one east and one west, and on this enlarged site stands the present Alumni Gymnasium, erected 1927-1929.

Some facts about old South College may interest men yet living who did part of their college work in it prior to 1884. The fire in December, 1836, made necessary plans for a new

building, which were then drawn by Peter B. Smith, and were approved by the college committee on March 31. Five days later the bid of Henry Myers for its construction was accepted, and next day the contract was signed, with provision that the building should be completed by January 1, 1838. "The outside of the whole building, front and back, is to be plastered outside, after the manner and quality of the second Presbyterian Church in Carlisle," read the contract.

The uses to which this building was put were many. It was primarily for grammar-school use, but the basement was used for many years for the science work of the College. As grammar-school needs for space lessened with lessened numbers, the college library was located on the first floor, but shortly after the coming of Professor Himes, he secured the transfer of the library to the second floor, and his science department, before in the basement, appropriated the first floor until the erection of the Tome Scientific Building in 1884. During the time of President Johnson, a telescope was secured and a cupola as observatory placed above the building.

This building thus played a varied role in the development of the College, humble, and never very conspicuous. An old picture of it shows it only in part. It must have been one of the early photographs taken shortly after the photographic process was beginning to come to its own. The picture was taken from within the main campus just north of High Street. It shows the south wall and entrance of the main campus, the former with its original pickets of 1833, and the latter with nine stakes to keep out wandering animals, yet spaced widely enough to admit men and women. Tradition has it that the women had a hard time to get in with their hooped skirts of the period. The picture shows also another wall in front of South College, one similar to that around the campus. Probably Captain Patterson, of the Class of 1859, is the only living alumnus who can recall this wall. It disappeared many years since, and only the picture and diggings about the Alumni Gymnasium in 1927 told the present generation that there had been such a wall.

The growth of the College urgently called for yet another building for college use, and, following the old college traditions, the Board memorialized the Legislature of the state for funds for such a building. Nothing came of it, however, and as the need for a new building was pressing, a special meeting of the Board in February, 1836, authorized its erection on money borrowed largely from the two Conferences. Plans and specifications must have been ready, for bids came in by the end of the same month. The present East College was partly finished by November following, and was "to be completed early next Spring," 1837. College catalogues show that students were in the building during the college year 1836-1837, probably only the latter part of the year. Bids for its construction ranged from \$13,900, the highest, to \$9,588, the lowest, for which latter sum the contract was let. This seems an amazingly small sum, but building prices were low at that time. An effort had been made fourteen years before to secure a dormitory at state expense, and a bill was introduced in the Legislature to erect a building "for the accommodation of about two hundred students," at a cost not to exceed "twelve thousand dollars." The building thus proposed was much larger than the East College finally built for \$9,588.

East College has known various uses. It has three and one-half tiers of rooms, known as sections. Two of these sections, those at the west end, were built with recitation rooms on the third floor front, or south, and the third section had a recitation room on the second floor back. The fourth or eastern section was built to accommodate the family of the President of the College, and did so from 1837 to 1890, when President Reed, finding the noise of a college dormitory unbearable, purchased the present President's residence. The old residence then became a student dormitory. The entire dormitory part of the building was renewed in 1882, and all three recitation rooms were placed on the second floor back, or north.

The main entrances to East College were originally by

outside steps leading to the second floor, and the first or basement floor seems not to have been needed or much used in the early years of its history. It was occasionally used for student boarding clubs or janitors' residences. This was changed during President Morgan's term on the thorough renovation of the building. Entrances were changed to the

first floor, and its rooms were rescued and made the equal of any in the building.



From Harper's Weekly, June 30, 1883

A picture of East College shows the building as it stood for fifty years. The near or eastern end of the building was occupied by eight presidents of the College, 1837-1890. Its ornamental porch, extending around the eastern end of the building, with climbing rose vines, sets this part off from the other part of the building. It was upon this porch in Mary Johnson Dillon's "In Old Bellaire," that the New England school teacher was supposed to let fall the tell-tale rose for the South Carolina student waiting below. The pickets yet surmount the college wall, thus marking the scene as at least fifty years old.

West College has had a like checkered history. It was apparently used for recitation rooms and literary societies and libraries only till 1810. Some rooms were then set apart as student dormitories. This dormitory use increased as money was available to divide the building into rooms, till

all the available part of the building above the first or basement was occupied. This first or basement story was used as college "commons" and living quarters for the steward. Gay times old students had with stewards and teachers required to board with them as proctors, so gay indeed, that the "commons" was soon abandoned, and students were allowed to board in the town. A Professor, however, usually the senior one, had his residence at the west end of West College until 1890. The basement floor was thus abandoned for many years, until it was restored to college use in the time of President Morgan.

Durbin's final touch to the college building program was a system of trap-doors from every section of East College to the roof. This was a needed exit in case of fire, for which, fortunately, it has never been used. It was, however, useful to many student generations for all sorts of college pranks, and especially as a way of escape when hard pressed by faculty pursuers. Before this, in 1841, Durbin had detected a tendency in the west wall of West College to buckle, and had bound it more closely to the rest of the building, as shown by the heads of great iron bolts on the western wall. Between these two services to the buildings themselves, in 1844, he had a drawing made of the campus and its two buildings, and from this an engraving. Prints from the latter appeared in subsequent catalogues for years, and furnish not only an interesting fine study of the College, but of other things as well.

In 1840 Durbin said in his report, "Everybody is dissatisfied with the College Bell. It is too small. It cannot be heard over in the buildings. I recommend to the Board to appropriate \$250—enough, with the present bell, to secure one sufficiently large." The Board appropriated \$200, and the bell was secured in Philadelphia, from which its predecessor had been "waggoned" in 1810. Nisbet had complained in 1785 that they greatly needed a bell but he never had one.

Durbin's bell was the focus of college pranks for many

years. The first one recorded was of December 10, 1852, when the bell was rung out of order. Students went to classes on this ringing, but were told to come at the regular ringing. They failed to do so and were required to make up the work with the Professors privately. President Collins, on suggestion of the Faculty, secured an "iron door and casement for the bell room." This added zest to the game, and some of the most daring escapades for fifty years concerned the bell.

The bell inspired a rollicking drinking song, which was sung by saints and sinners alike for years:

I wish I had a barrel of rum,
And sugar three hundred pounds,
The college bell to mix it in,
The clapper to stir it round;
I'd drink to the health of Dickinson
With the boys who are far and near,
For I'm a rambling rake of poverty
And the son of a gambolier.

Many old alumni will remember this song, and perhaps may wish to correct it, as it is written from memory after more than fifty years. Some of them might add other stanzas, possibly even less restrained in expression than the above!

The cupola of West College, after being the home of the bell for over ninety years, became unsafe, and the college bell, rung electrically, now graces the new Denny Hall tower. It seems to have lost all of its old-time lure for students!

Durbin asked and received leave of absence for foreign travel in 1842, and sailed for Europe in April of that year. The two conference Boards had each granted \$500 to be used by him in the purchase of books and apparatus abroad. Some of the more valuable old books yet in the library are the results of his purchases. In his absence, Robert Emory, who had left the College two years before for pastoral work, acted as President *pro tem*.

The year after his return (1844), Durbin published "Observations in Europe," in two volumes, and shortly thereafter "Observations in the East, in Egypt, Palestine,

Syria, and Asia Minor," in two volumes. Harper Brothers published the books, and it would be of interest to know whether through this relation the families became acquainted, for eventually one of Durbin's daughters married a Harper.

One year later, in 1845, apparently without previous notice, Durbin presented his resignation to the Board at their July meeting. It was because of "important private business involving the permanent interests of my children and family [which] require my presence in Philadelphia for some time to come." He said of the Board, "The deference you have paid to my judgment and wishes, both as it respects the College and myself, has penetrated me with respect and gratitude toward you." He adds, "I resign the less reluctantly, because of the general good conditions of the College, and the permanent hold which it has obtained upon the public confidence." He forebore to say what a Baltimore Conference report said of him, that he had himself gathered much money to bolster the weak financial structure of the College. Nor did he say that he had given the ten best years of his life to the College, as he confided in a private letter to his dear friend and college associate, Emory.

There exists an old cut of the Public Square of Carlisle in Durbin's time, between 1837 and 1843. The railroad entered Carlisle in 1837, and the cut shows a very primitive train entering the town from the east. The old court-house appears facing High Street. It was burned in 1843, and replaced by the new one facing Hanover Street.

A great man left the College when Durbin withdrew. He was at once elected trustee and served for nineteen years, 1845-1864. After leaving Carlisle, he served as pastor of a Philadelphia church for a time, and then as Presiding Elder. The latter work he little enjoyed, and in 1850 accepted a call to be Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church, being reelected to that position for five full quadrenniums, thus serving for twenty-two years. He is generally accepted as the Secretary who organized the Society for its great subsequent service. He retired in 1872, to be succeeded as

Secretary by Robert L. Dashiell, another Dickinson President. Dr. Durbin died four years later, in 1876.

Like some great meteor, blazing its way from the deep unknown into visibility and then continuing long effulgent glory, came Durbin from the backwoods. His fifty years of public service from Augusta College through the chaplaincy of the Senate, the editorial rooms of a great paper, and the establishing of a college; his girdling of the globe with the expanding missionary activities of his Church, make up a full record of glorious service for the self-educated, one-time cabinet-maker. Sorrowfully it is recorded that his name seems to have disappeared with him. Like Nisbet, he has worthy descendants, but none bearing his name, as appeared when the College sought them for the celebration of its own Sesquicentennial and the Centennial of his election as President.

His college administration, and that of his successor, Emory, are of one piece, and will be considered and estimated following the story of Emory's administration.



Robert Emory, Professor, 1834-1840
 President *pro tem.*, 1842-1843
 President, 1845-1848

Jesse Truesdell Peck, 1848-1852

Charles Collins, 1852-1860

Herman Merrills Johnson
 Professor, 1850-1860
 President, 1860-1868

Robert Laurenson Dashiell, 1868-1872

COLLEGE PRESIDENTS, 1845-1872

ROBERT EMORY—1845-1848

THREE YEARS OF WANING STRENGTH

ROBERT EMORY, who followed John Price Durbin as President, would probably have proven his equal but for his poor health. Emory, a graduate of Columbia in 1831, had come to the College on its reopening in 1834, eleven years before he became President, and had served it with great ability most of these years. Reports of his work and character seem almost extravagant, and he was, doubtless, a rare man. His health, always poor, became steadily worse after he became President. Somewhat like President Filler, his successor eighty-three years later, his work was done under the deepening shadow of decreasing physical powers. Nevertheless, he held things well together, secured an increased student attendance, and met all college expenses from year to year. He, like Filler again, is to be judged by his earlier brilliant service as Professor rather than by his short term as President.

Emory's work at Dickinson was begun when he was but two months over twenty years of age, but there is ample evidence of his equipment for it. There are four special witnesses: Benjamin F. Brooke, W. Lee Spottswood, James A. McCauley, already quoted on Durbin, and Moncure D. Conway, of the Class of 1849, the distinguished writer and humanitarian.

Brooke was Emory's student for four years, and his testimony is that of his diary ten years after graduation, on an official visit to Carlisle. He says:

Visited the College Library . . . saw the portrait of Dr. Robert Emory, with that look of firmness and of manly virtue that I knew so well. Prof. Emory was my beau ideal of a man. I shall never forget the impression his appearance made on me the first time I had an interview with him. He was Professor of Languages, and was perfect master of his branch of instruction. He had one motto always—"the certainty of knowledge." He would not allow the students to "guess" at anything. "You know it, or you do not know it" was his constant expression.

I wish to record my impressions of his moral character, particularly. I have never known such an assemblage of virtues in any man. At least, such invariable symmetry of character in all that constitutes worth and greatness. . . . He himself seemed totally unconscious of the tremendous impression his appearance was making on all around him. . . . He seemed to me to be what he was by the most rigid discipline. He told me that he had been troubled with skeptical notions as to the reality of conversion and possibility of consciousness of the fact; at length he was resolved that if there was such a thing as experimental religion, he would find it or die in the struggle. And he prayed for it—he prayed all night and finally the light came like the morning upon his soul, leaving no shadow of a doubt. He smiled and said, "I once served God because I feared him—now I serve him because I love him."

He was kind, candid, gracious. He established Sunday Schools in all the country about Carlisle at his own expense, and supplied them with teachers from the College. (One of these probably grew into the flourishing country church at "McAllisters School House.")

As a talker he was clear and persuasive—his voice seemed to be "dipped in the mellow stream of mercy." Take him all in all I shall not look upon his like again.

Brooke's impression of Emory's moral character is supported by Spottswood, already quoted on Durbin. Spottswood says:

The feeling of every man who approached Robert Emory was:

"He has I know not what
Of greatness in his looks, and of high fate,
That almost awes me."

President McCauley writes:

. . . Robert Emory, little more than twenty years of age . . . was a remarkable man. . . . In every sphere in which he was tried there was the demonstration of ability that ranked him with the first in each . . . (on his death at 34), if, of his years he left an equal, he left no superior in the Church.

Moncure D. Conway considered Emory

the ideal college President. In personal presence, in his manners, at once gracious and dignified, in his simplicity and the sweetness of his voice, he had every quality that could excite young enthusiasm. . . . When he called on my brother and myself, I cannot remember what he said, but after he left we were ready to die for him,

By the calendar Emory was President for three years, but really for only two. His health kept him away from the College during the third year, 1847-1848, and he died on May 18, 1848. Emory's final report in 1847 announced that during the year the library, laboratory, and museum had been transferred to South College. The year's income had been \$8,523.34, somewhat more than usual because of increased student attendance. It seems an amazingly small sum for a year's college income, but it more than met expenses. With his sadly early death the College and the Church lost rare ability and high devotion.

In 1847 Emory made two recommendations to the Board for buildings. One of these was for a library and society hall. The two literary societies were pressing for better meeting-places and library rooms. On Emory's recommendation the Board voted that when the two societies had secured \$6,000, the College would add \$4,000 for the erection of a suitable building on the campus. Nothing ever came of the movement, as the societies failed to secure the \$6,000. Reference is made to it, however, in a society petition to the trustees in 1850 for an additional room in West College for library use, which they suggest as less costly than the earlier one. The request of 1850 was granted, and the two society libraries used the rooms so granted until their transfer to Bosler Hall.

His second proposal concerned North College. Few there be who know anything about it. Just north of West College there was for many years a wood-house, and this came to the dignity of a recognized college building through the financial needs of students. There were frequent trustee proposals to make possible lessened cost to students. One of these appears in Emory's 1847 report. He did not see how student expenses could be further lessened, unless by a proposal he made "that two or three shops should be provided for students who are acquainted with trades. This can be done at little expense, on a plan that I will submit."

Emory's proposal was referred to the Financial Committee, with power to act, but at a cost not to exceed \$300.

This action was had July 7, and five days later Emory signed a contract with a local builder "to fit up the stone wood-house back of College into four rooms with dormitories, with a cellar under the whole, according to plans." The work was to cost \$300, and to be completed "before 6th Sept. next." There exists an unsigned, undated, unattached draft of the probable plans, though it gives only three rooms and six large closets. This plan shows that the wood-house was 45 feet long by 10 feet wide. The three rooms are 10 feet square with double closets in each, 5 feet square. The rooms were to be 8 feet in the clear, and the cellar 5 feet. The large closets were probably for the tools of the artisan students who were to use the rooms.

In the story of a student prank which appeared in "The Dickinsonian" in 1875, Dr. Thomas G. Chattle, of the Class of 1852, says that there was "another building, whose ashes have long since been swept up in the dust of the past, standing in the rear of West College, and known as North College." In room one of this building Conner and Haller "pressed various suits for their fellow students, at enormous prices, and thus smoothed their way through college." In room two "Tussey hammered the soles of his classmates during the week, while his Sundays were spent in seeking the welfare of souls in the hamlets of Perry County." The college catalogue lists students as rooming in North College each year but one, from 1847 to 1855, and the three students named by Dr. Chattle are so listed.

This old wood-house was built in the early years of West College, when the College furnished the students with wood for their fires. It was prominent enough to find a place on a plan of Carlisle, made in 1850. The winter's supply could be bought more cheaply in summer. It needed, however, to be stored under lock and key, as it was retailed to students. The stone material was a concession to architectural conformity. [Would that later builders had been equally responsive to the artistic demands of their surroundings!] Yet at best it must have been a blot on the campus just north of

West College. It served its purpose for a time, but apparently the activity of the students in their trades raised such opposition in the town that the trustees finally forbade all such work by students. After ten years of some sort of service the old wood-house disappeared. Egle's "History of Pennsylvania" says that it was destroyed by fire. Its material was given to the Emory church organization for use in its building enterprise.

So disappeared North College!

One month before Emory had made his wood-shed proposal, a very difficult and dangerous situation for the College had developed. A riot over runaway slaves on June 2, 1847, at the court-house had resulted in the death of one Kennedy of Hagerstown, who claimed the slaves. Professor McClintock was present at the time of the riot, and was charged with participation on the side of the slaves. Both town and College were deeply stirred. An ordinary riot would have excited both, but the slave question was becoming a serious one. The local *Herald Expositor* deplored the matter, and said all sorts of complimentary things of Kennedy, who died June 30, after which a great town meeting was held to express disapproval of the riot, and by resolution to extol the virtues of Kennedy. Many citizens assembled at the court-house and marched in a body to the station to pay tribute of silent respect as the body was placed on the train to be carried to Hagerstown. The *Hagerstown Torchlight* in the meantime was fulminating against McClintock and the College.

The students, mostly from slave territory, were equally excited, and at first were on the point of leaving in a body. Moncure D. Conway was one of these excited southern students. In his Autobiography he gives much space to the slave riot and McClintock's part therein, a very small part of which must suffice:

McClintock was the last man one might expect to see mixed up in any disturbance, and there was wild excitement when, on a bright June afternoon (1847), rumors spread of a fatal riot led by this same professor! One

Kennedy of Maryland had discovered his three fugitive slaves in Carlisle, and in an attempt to rescue them when led out of the court room he was mortally wounded. . . . McClintock kept entirely out of it (the riot), and started homewards, stopping a moment to ask the doctor if Kennedy was badly hurt, and to express regret. . . . There was probably not an abolitionist among the students, and most of us perhaps were from slave states. My brother and I, like others, packed our trunks to leave College. A meeting of all the students was held in the evening, in the college chapel, at which President Emory spoke a few reassuring words; but we Southerners, wildly excited, appointed a meeting for next morning. At this meeting (June 3) we were all stormy until the door opened and the face of McClintock was seen, serene as if about to take his usual seat in his recitation room. There was a sudden hush. Without excitement or gesture, without any accent of apology or of appeal, he related the simple facts, then descended from the pulpit and moved quickly along the aisle and out of the door.

When McClintock had gone the students present, ninety in number, signed a paper exonerating McClintock of all blame in the matter, and sent it to leading papers for publication. Many papers, however, would not be informed, but gave rein to their passion and abused the man and College.

McClintock was indicted for riot and tried in the local courts, together with a large number of negroes. The case became not so much an attempt to arrive at a judicial decision as a test between the two opposing systems of the country, which were gradually coming more and more closely to deadly grips on the question of slavery. Noted and able lawyers, both North and South, volunteered their services for this, one of the picket clashes of the coming struggle. Conway sketches the trial:

Witness after witness, perjurer after perjurer, came forward to testify that McClintock was with those who struck down Kennedy, had said to the fallen man that he was served right, etc. Those acquainted with McClintock knew this testimony to be false, but how could it be disproved? A well-known citizen, Jacob Rheem, testified that he was told by a man that he had overheard two men say they were resolved to drive McClintock out of Carlisle. The overheard conversation indicated a conspiracy, but Rheem could not remember the name or locality of his informant. McClintock's lawyer, Hon. William Meredith, tried in vain to get some clue, but when all seemed hopeless Rheem sprang forward and pointed to a man just entering the courtroom, and cried, "There's the man!" The stranger, called to the stand, fully corroborated Rheem.

The countryman's exposure of the conspiracy against McClintock

greatly impressed the students and the community, but was not needed to clear him. Several lawyers, not anti-slavery, testified that at the time when he was alleged to be in the riot he was some distance off, talking with themselves. The trial only bequeathed a heavy case against slavery. It was the doom of that institution that every step it took outside its habitat left a track of blood. One slaveholder seizing negroes seeking liberty outweighed the benevolence of ten thousand kind masters whose servants clung fondly to them.

McClintock was acquitted and continued at the College for another year. Thirteen of the negroes, tried at the same time, were convicted. Judge Hepburn, who presided at the trial, was disappointed by the verdict of acquittals, and said so. Had it been a civil case, he would have exercised his right to set the verdict aside. He showed his animus in the matter by heavy sentences for the convicted negroes, as much as three years in the penitentiary for some of them. Their cases were appealed and on orders of the higher court they were discharged after a few months.

Conway's statement that there was probably not an abolitionist in the student body in 1847 is, on first thought, surprising. It was only fourteen years before the outbreak of the Civil War, but it was a time, however, when the middle states were hesitant on the subject of slavery. They trembled for the outcome, and were crying "peace, peace," not knowing that before peace must come the sword. One might expect that there would be a large abolitionist element at this time in a Pennsylvania College under Methodist auspices. Apparently it was not so, and there are documents supporting this view.*

*Bishop Beverly Waugh, a trustee of the College, wrote to President Durbin of the College from Boston in June, 1839, after he had just held one New England conference and was about to go to another: "I have come through one of the New England storms of abolitionism with whole bones. Time must tell the rest. I was blessed with the counsel and aid of Bishop Soule, who will be with me at Maine Conference likewise. . . . I think it may be said that the violence of abolitionism is over in New England. The party is divided and confused. They agree not what to do or not to do. May they come to their proper senses on the subject."

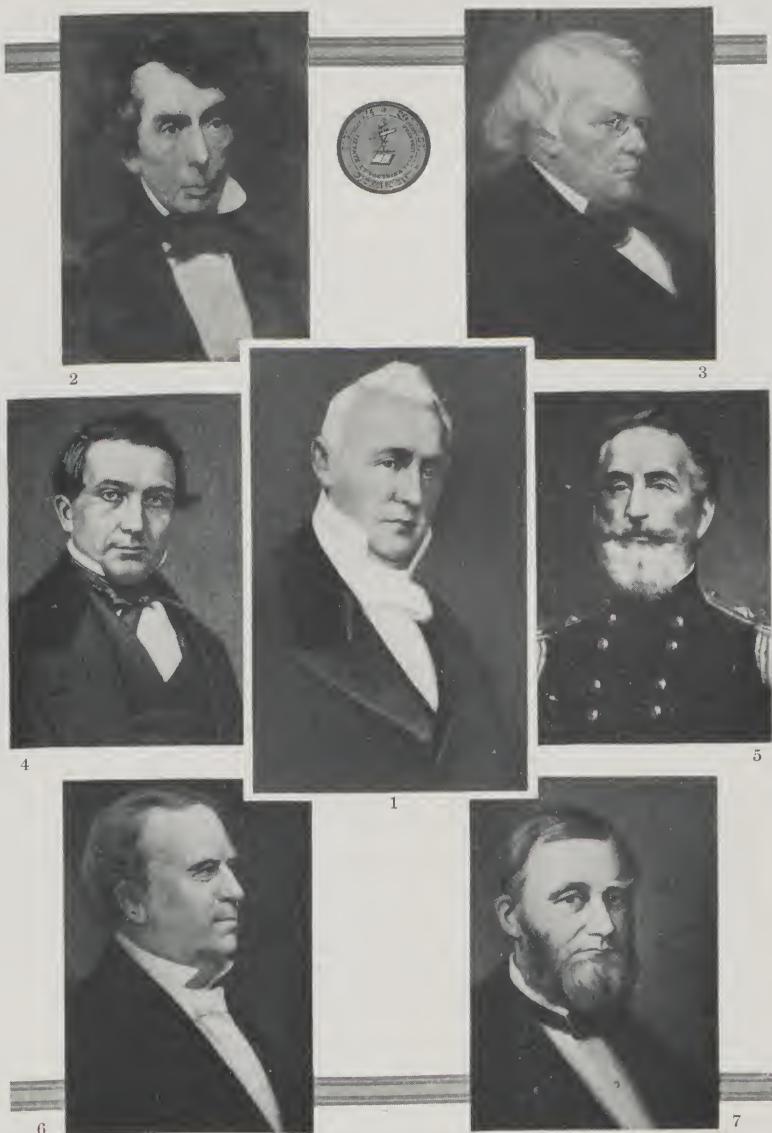
This letter shows the Bishop's opposition to the New England attitude toward slavery. It shows also that he considered Durbin as in sympathy with him, and this was the Durbin who espoused the anti-slavery position in the General Conference of the Church in 1844. As before stated, a majority of the Philadelphia Conference delegates in that General Conference of 1844 took the southern view of the controversy over Bishop Andrew.

The student body met two days after the riot and declared unanimously that they deemed McClintock incapable of the wrong charged. They expected that he would be "vindicated from the imputations cast upon him." There seemed to be no difference of opinion that interference on behalf of runaway slaves was a heinous wrong.

The slave riot occurred on June 2, 1847, and the college trustees met a month later, July 7 and 8. The closing minute of the meeting evidently grew out of the riot troubles of the previous month: "The President made an oral communication to the Board on the subject of slavery and abolition, stating, in accordance with the wishes of certain members of the Board, the policy of the Faculty in regard to those subjects. And it was 'Resolved, That the Board has heard with great satisfaction the statement of Presdt. Emory and request him to commit the same to writing for publication.'" The Finance Committee was to see that it was published.

The next issue of a local paper, *The Herald Expositor*, contains Emory's statement on the subject. It was the duty of the Professors, he believed, to teach the college subjects, "not to be partizans or propogandists of any peculiar creed in politics or religion. . . . We would not *seek* the discussion of vexed questions, whether in politics, morals, or religion, but if they come up naturally and properly, we would not, as honest men and faithful teachers, withhold the frank statement of our opinions."

He stated that the question of slavery naturally belongs to Moral Philosophy: "That department is my own, and I am entirely ready to state to you the views which I hold and which I impart. But I presume this is neither necessary nor expected." Professor McClintock is no abolitionist. He has "never held the following Doctrines or any of them: (1) That the United States Government can interfere with Slavery in the several States. (2) That the States can interfere with the policy of each other on the subject. (3) That all Slaves should be immediately and unconditionally emancipated. (4) That Slave-holding is a sin under all cir-



DICKINSONIANS IN WASHINGTON IN 1861

1. James Buchanan, 1809, Fifteenth President of the United States.
2. Roger Brooke Taney, 1795, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.
3. Robert Cooper Grier, 1812, Justice of the United States Supreme Court.
4. Philip Francis Thomas, 1830, Secretary of the Treasury.
5. Clement Alexander Finley, 1815, Surgeon General, United States Army.
6. Willard Saulsbury, 1842, United States Senator.
7. Spencer Fullerton Baird, 1840, Assistant Secretary Smithsonian Institution.

cumstances. (5) That non-slave-holding should be made a term of membership in the Christian Church."

Emory's position may be inferred from the above, but added light is given by his letter in 1846 to Mr. Brooke, his old student. He writes of a contemplated meeting of the Christian Alliance and of a proposed program for the meeting. "As soon as I saw the resolutions about Slave-holders I regarded it as an apple of discord. . . . I felt so provoked . . . that I was almost ready at once to abandon the thought of attending the Convention. . . . The Convention itself . . . might yet think proper to say nothing at all on the subject of slavery, as I certainly think they ought not. It really seems as if the demon of discord would never cease his foul work upon the South. It is enough to make one's heart sick, to think that an effort to promote Christian Union should be made the occasion of new strife. I hope it will not be so among us!"

Even such a man as Emory was crying "peace, peace," and had not seen the futility of the cry. It should not be forgotten, too, that there were still a few slaves in Pennsylvania—at least thirty-seven in Cumberland County at the time of the census of 1840.

Lincoln, not Horace Greeley, was right in his estimate of the attitude of the great majority of the American people toward slavery. New England abhorred it; the South had been driven almost to worship it; and the great middle belt of our country mildly deplored it, but tolerated it as a necessary evil, fastened upon us by our historical development. It required South Carolina's guns against Sumter to stir the college territory, and even for years northern soldiers insisted that they were not fighting to free slaves, but to preserve the Union. Dickinson College, in 1847, was almost certainly only very mildly alive to the evils of slavery.

But to return to the facts of President Emory's letter of acceptance of his election, in 1845, we may note that it was prophetic. "I shall have to encounter a floating debt of

more than two thousand dollars, and an annual deficiency of nearly five hundred dollars [occasioned by the withdrawal of the state appropriation. . .]. I cannot anticipate either that the office will be a pleasant one, or that I shall be able long to sustain the drafts that it would make on my strength." He was not able long to carry the burdens of the office. His active connection with the College ended in July, 1847. Possibly the contract for North College was his last official act. By reason of his illness, he was given leave of absence, July to October, but was not able to resume his duties. He tendered his resignation to the Finance Committee. They declined to accept it, but he never returned. He died in Baltimore the following May.

In Emory's absence, 1847-1848, Professor Allen acted as President *pro tem.*, and a sorry story he had for the trustees when they gathered in July, 1848. He reported "The past year has been marked with prosperity and misfortune." Professor Caldwell, the senior Professor, had died, President Emory had died, and Professors McClintock and Crooks had accepted other appointments, leaving only Allen himself, Sudler, and Baird. It was a dismal situation.

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF
JOHN PRICE DURBIN—1834-1845 AND
ROBERT EMORY—1845-1848

THE death of Emory in 1848 marked the close of an epoch of the college life under the new church auspices. Durbin and Emory, so closely related in their plans, and the Faculty with which they both worked, stamp their two administrations with such similar characteristics that the two may be treated almost as one. There was, too, at the close of the two administrations a definite break in the continuity of college life. Durbin left in 1845; in 1848 Emory and Caldwell died and McClintock went to another field. Only Allen himself, Acting President in Emory's absence, 1847-1848, was left of the original "old guard." Baird, it is true, had come in at the time of Durbin's leaving, and was quite the equal of the best; but change was at hand. An estimate, therefore, of the two previous administrations together seems fitting.

The Faculty of this formative period was a great one. Its leading members have been noted: Durbin in 1833, Caldwell and Emory in 1834, and Allen and McClintock two years later. Five others shared the period with them, three of them almost incidentally, one indifferently, and one with distinction. The three of incidental service were Roszell, Crooks, and Blumenthal.

Stephen Asbury Roszell, head of the Grammar School 1835-1840, served also as Professor of Languages in the College, 1837-1838. George R. Crooks, of the Class of 1840, was connected with the Grammar School 1841-1848, as Principal 1843-1848, and was also Adjunct Professor of Greek in the College, 1846-1848. Charles Edward Blumenthal, a physician, was Professor of Modern Languages and Hebrew, 1845-1854, but in an unusual way. Finances did not permit his regular employment; his work was elective

and his compensation was largely from extra fees from those who elected the work. The plan did not secure him a support, and he finally resigned and returned to the practice of his profession in New York. The fourth, Thomas Emory Sudler, was Professor of Mathematics for eleven years from 1840, but made little impression on the College and left under trying circumstances, later mentioned.

The last of these later comers was Spencer Fullerton Baird of the Class of 1840. He proved quite the equal of his older faculty associates, under whom he had done his own college work. Baird was elected "Honorary Professor of Natural History and Curator of the Museum" in 1845. On his election he writes to a member of his family, "No salary, and nothing to do. Received many congratulations therefrom." A year later he was given a salary of \$400, the following year \$600, and thereafter the full Professor's salary of \$1,000.

The Faculty was a good one, even a great one, as judged by the men it was training. Moncure D. Conway gave his judgment in mature life that "the college Faculty was not surpassed in ability by any in America," and Conway was probably the most distinguished litterateur of all the college history.

Of the original five, Durbin, Caldwell, and Emory came in 1834 to serve the two college classes first admitted; and Allen and McClintock joined them two years later, when the other two college classes were added. Four of the five men had received the usual college training—Allen and Caldwell at Bowdoin, Emory at Columbia, and McClintock at the University of Pennsylvania—but the amazing Durbin, as already said, had done his academic work, elementary, preparatory, and college, while pastor of churches.

They were all young—very young by present-day standards, and two at least of an age when men have now seldom finished their college studies. Emory and McClintock were born in 1814, so that Emory was only twenty years old when he came to the College in 1834, and McClintock only twenty-

two when he came two years later. Caldwell and Allen were each twenty-eight when they came, and Durbin, their chief, was thirty-four. Their youth, however, seems never to have been noticed as an objection. James A. McCauley, President of the College 1872-1888, when selecting an unusually young man for his Faculty said that he would trust a Faculty of bright young men with their future to make, and cited his experience as a student under the early Dickinson Faculty of very young men. It was not their youth that made them succeed, but the enthusiasm of youth, and such character, capacity, and early maturity as considerably atoned for that youth. They were carefully picked men, Durbin first by the Board, whose members knew his record, and the others largely his own selections. The chief selected his assistants, and the dream of President How in 1831 had become a reality. The internal peace for which poor How had sighed was realized, so that on leaving the College Durbin could say, "I have not been conscious of a single unpleasant occurrence among us [the Faculty]." How refreshing after the almost constant brawls of the earlier fifty years!

Durbin's life was spent in varied and widely different activities, all too briefly mentioned in the preceding chapter, giving a bare outline of his career. Quite different was the story of the two other men who joined him in Carlisle in 1834. Caldwell and Emory spent almost the whole of their effective lives in the College, and their services, even though brilliant, may be briefly mentioned. Fortunately, too, Conway and McCauley, already quoted, are on record as to both these men. One of his old pupils, himself an educator, says of Merritt Caldwell that he was "a rare man, a rare scholar, a rare teacher and a rare Christian." McCauley says he was "an accurate scholar . . . a very careful teacher." Another says he "might have been a great man had he not died early." He was, unquestionably, a good teacher. Emory has been estimated in the story of his brief presidency.

William H. Allen came to the College two years later than Emory and Caldwell, but he soon made his place, and was

popular both as man and teacher. Dr. R. A. F. Penrose, of the Class of 1846, and later Professor in the University of Pennsylvania Medical School, said "Allen . . . was a grand teacher. I have never met his superior. . . . His lectures . . . were the clearest and most philosophical I have ever listened to. They possessed . . . adhesiveness. That is, the student somehow could not forget them. And hence it was that the graduates of Dickinson knew more about these things than any of the other young men of the day." Though Professor of Natural Science, Allen was called on to teach rhetoric; he seemed to Conway to be an abler man than the author, and led his class into wider fields. He served the College as President *pro tem.*, 1847-1848, in Emory's year of absence. In 1850 he left the College to become President of Girard College, where he served for twelve years. He was President of Pennsylvania State Agricultural College from 1865 to 1867. Then he returned to the presidency of Girard College for fifteen years, dying in Philadelphia in 1882. He twice declined to be considered for the presidency of Dickinson, probably because he thought a clergyman should be chosen at that time.

John McClintock served in the college Faculty 1836-1848. He was editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, pastor of the American Chapel in Paris, and became President of Drew Seminary at Madison, New Jersey, where he died in 1870. He was, possibly, the most brilliant man of the circle; he "could study hard, and long, and rapidly." Durbin is quoted as saying, "If there is any such thing as a universal genius, Mack is one." McCauley says of him, "He was, even at that time [of his Dickinson professorship], a great man; and the noble fruits which crowned his after years were there in full promise."

Conway says, "Dr. McClintock made Greek studies interesting, and Professor Crooks had much skill in teaching Latin. We studied in Manuals compiled by them jointly, and it used to be said that 'to enter the Kingdom of Heaven one must study his Bible carefully and his "McClintock and

Crooks" prayerfully.' . . . We were all proud of his reputation and careful not to encroach on his time."

Though not one of the five original immortals of this Faculty, Spencer Fullerton Baird may be added without lowering the standard. He was an almost passionate lover of nature from early boyhood, and even as a lad was in correspondence with some of the leading naturalists of the country. He graduated from the College in 1840 and was a member of the college Faculty, 1845-1850, after which he went to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. A great man! Conway says of him, "Baird, the youngest of the Faculty, was the beloved Professor and the ideal student. He was beautiful and also manly; all that was finest in the forms he explained to us seemed to be represented in the man. He possessed the art of getting knowledge into the dullest pupil. So fine was his spirit that his explanations of all the organs and functions of the various species were an instruction also in refinement of mind. Nothing unclean could approach him. One main charm of spring's approach was that then would begin our weekly rambles in field, meadow, wood, where Baird introduced us to his intimates."

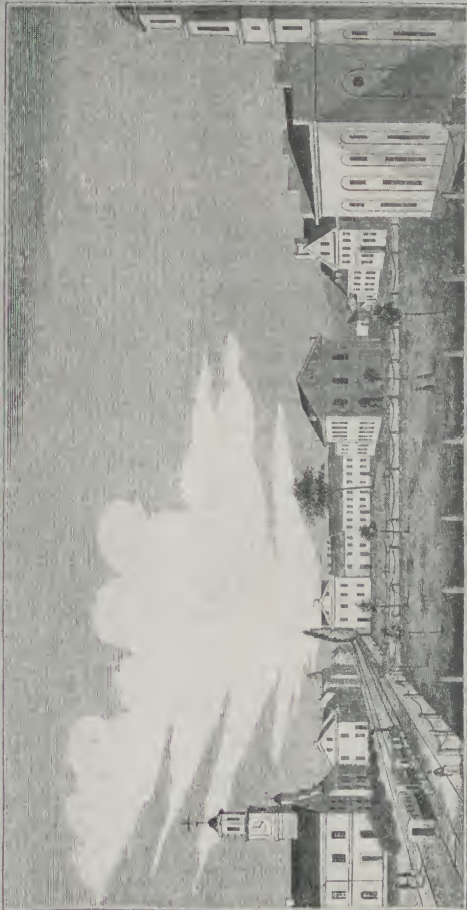
Baird left the College in 1850 to go to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, where he rendered distinguished service for thirty-seven years. His letter of resignation from the Faculty indirectly pays high tribute to his association at the College. He was only twenty-seven years old, and his youth might discount his statement, but for the fact that he was already a recognized scientist whose words meant what they said. "The perfect adaption of my new position to all my tastes and feelings is the sole cause of my leaving Dickinson College. . . . On no account would I have voluntarily exchanged a position here for one in any other college in the country."

It is not strange that Conway said, "The college faculty was not surpassed in ability by any in America." It is doubtful whether there has been at any time in the country a college faculty that averaged so near to genius. In the final

quarter of the last century the then college students, but now the older alumni of the College, heard from the then aging alumni report of their own college life with Durbin and his Faculty; and the emotion of their older college brothers seemed possibly a little sentimental and mawkish to the younger men. The younger men did not understand it; for, without depreciating unduly those who came after them, that galaxy of Dickinson teachers of the thirties and forties has probably never been surpassed, and possibly never equaled at Dickinson or elsewhere. Four of the six were geniuses, and the other two not far from it—an average seldom reached.

Conway says another thing of this early Faculty, surprising for that period of sectarian rivalries: "Although it was a Methodist College, best teachers had been secured without regard to doctrinal views, two of them, I believe, not being members of any church." One of these was Allen. "Spencer F. Baird, afterwards chief of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, was never a Methodist, and his wife was a Unitarian. He was our professor of zoölogy."

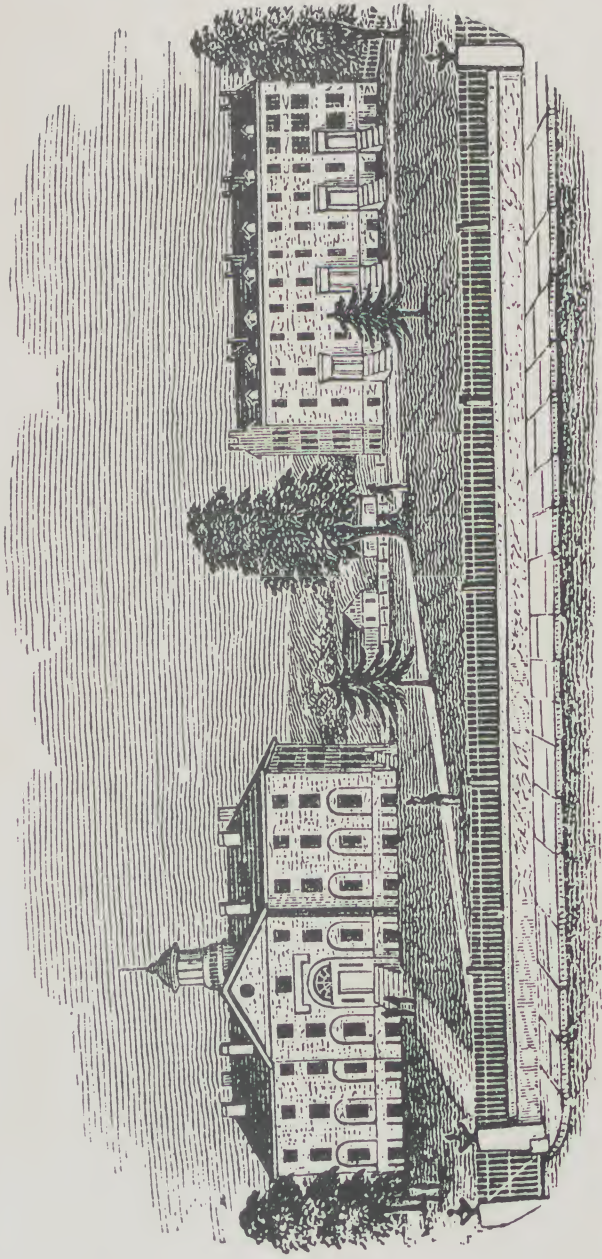
It is doubtful whether any such freedom from the influence of the church controversies of the time could be found in any other of the church colleges coming into being during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Dickinson set a high standard of intellectual freedom, and it has been maintained through the years. Conway's statement that "best teachers had been secured without regard to doctrinal views," could be made of the college Faculty today, with representatives from most of the leading churches on its rolls. This rare freedom from denominational bias in the selection of teachers illustrates the catholicity of the whole college life. It was originally largely Presbyterian, but its charter was undenominational, and that charter has never been changed. There is no word in charter or by-laws to show that it is affiliated with any church. To a college thus free in the letter of the bond, the preachers and people of two great Conferences of a Church gave time and money,



PUBLIC SQUARE IN CARLISLE.

As seen on entering from the east. On the left are the Court House, Town Hall, and Methodist Church, on the west front. On the right, in the foreground, is St. John's Episcopal Church, and on the other corner of the square, is the First Presbyterian Church.

REPRODUCED FROM AN OLD PRINT—ABOUT 1840. (See page 271.)



OLDEST KNOWN PICTURE OF EAST AND WEST COLLEGES: 1842 (?)
Reproduction of an Old Wood-Cut

their hopes and prayers, and never in any way fettered it in the freedom of its work, though both Conferences suggested the possibility of manual training as part of the college course. In spite of this freedom, or possibly because of it, the College certainly has been second to no institution of that Church in the loyal performance of the work expected of it. The ties of honor and affection have been stronger and more effective probably than legal bonds could have been.

The members of such a Faculty were but indifferently paid. Like many other great men, their reward was largely found in the joy in their work. Durbin's salary was \$1,200, and that of the Professors \$1,000. In addition, the President had his residence in the eastern end of East College, and the Senior Professor in the west end of West College. Funds for the payment of salaries were uncertain, depending in no small measure on the fees of students. In 1837, just after the first class had graduated, there were no funds in the hands of the Treasurer, and the Professors were asked to be "patient."

In 1839 much-needed help came to the College from the state. A state grant of \$1,000 annually for ten years was made to such colleges and academies as could qualify. Dickinson and eight other colleges qualified, and received the full grant for five years and half of it the sixth year, but in 1844 the General Assembly withdrew the appropriation altogether. This withdrawal of state aid was one of the difficulties facing Emory when he became President in 1845. The seriousness of this withdrawal of expected support appears from the fact that the entire operating income of the College was less than \$7,500 the last year of the payment of the full state grant, which was over 13 per cent of the income. The first year of this grant, 1838-1839, the Treasurer reported at commencement salaries in arrears as follows: Durbin, \$1,000; Allen, \$250; Emory, \$100; Caldwell, \$100; McClintock, \$100. The deficits in spite of state grant had at one time so accumulated that Durbin spent a good

part of a year in an attempt, only partly successful, to raise funds to meet them. In 1842 the probable deficit for the next year was such that all salaries were reduced by 8 per cent, and the occupants of the two college residences were each asked to allow \$80 per year rent for their houses. This arrangement was expected to be temporary, for one year only, and was probably not necessary even for that year; but it shows how narrow was the margin between the life and death of the College, how careful of expenditure both College and Professors were required to be, that they might live at all. Yet though salaries were small and at times in arrears, they were always finally paid. The College borrowed the money when it was necessary, if anybody could be found to lend it; so that there was no such condition as that from which Principal Nisbet and his faculty associates had suffered so long.

In another particular the trustees were generous, almost to excess, and seemed to feel, in the word of the well-known ritual, that they had taken their Professors "for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer." Though the Professors suffered much from sickness and were much out of their classrooms, especially Caldwell, Emory, and McClintock, their salaries were continued, for almost an entire year at one time, their work being done by others who were paid by the Board. Financial stress, or perhaps wiser policy, led to a change in 1847. Thereafter "salaried officers or Professors" were required to meet the expense incurred by their absences. This new rule was not applied to President Emory, who was absent the entire year, 1847-1848. His full salary seems to have been paid to his estate.

Crowded classes should have greeted such a Faculty, but such was not the case. Parents really know very little of the educational worth of colleges to which they send their children; and how should they? Most of them are influenced by the reports of those who knew the college years before, while its whole spirit may have changed in the meantime; or by the enthusiastic reports of students in attendance at

the time, and these know little or nothing of comparative standards, and are naturally boosters for their own. The average parent, with a son or daughter ready for college, appeals to our pity. Decisive choice must be made, with little reliable information on which to make that choice. The college with a good press bureau, possibly with an eloquent president or an alumni secretary of winning manner, is able to gather a student body, even though its work may be poor and its morals bad.

The great work of Dickinson College and its Faculty of these years did not secure its deserved student body. Its average college student body was but little over one hundred, and the grammar-school body about seventy-five. The catalogue records the following attendance from year to year, beginning with 1834-1835:

	GRAMMAR		
	COLLEGE	SCHOOL	TOTAL
1835	19	85	104
1836	59	117	176
1837	102	133	235
1838	114	83	197
1839	102	102	204
1840	108	85	193
1841	102	51	153
1842	109	58	167
1843	104	41	145
1844	97	42	139
1845	97	44	141
1846	101	40	141
1847	121	80	201
1848	142	41	183
1849	149	42	191
1850	116	41	157
1851	111	65	176

The sharp fluctuations in attendance, especially in the Grammar School, are hard to explain. Emory, as Acting President during Durbin's absence in Europe in 1842-1843, suggested that a number of other schools had recently been organized in this territory, and this may have caused the

decline in numbers. It is interesting to note that Emory's years, 1846-1848, represented a steady increase in college enrolment, and that the growth continued the first year of his successor, 1849.

In July, 1837, a month before the first passenger train reached Carlisle, the Durbin college organization came to its first commencement with a graduating class. Provision for only two classes, Freshman and Sophomore, had been made in 1834, and the Sophomores of 1834 were ready for graduation in 1837. There was only a small class—seven from the College and four from the Law School. Though unsuspected at the time, there were among the graduates a future governor of the state to greet the then Governor Ritner, present to grace the occasion; a future bishop of the church, a major and a chaplain of the army, a collector of internal revenue, and a member of the state legislature. This was not a bad showing of those who stood out in later public service, and the other five did possibly equally well in less conspicuous fields. The future bishop was the valedictorian of the class.

This first class was only one of many such preparing men for outstanding service to society. The first twelve classes, 1837-1848, by which latter date the members of the original Faculty were dropping out, show that the College was turning out men fit to meet the needs of their time. The College has always prepared many preachers and lawyers, and these two professions lead in numbers for the twelve classes, which produced 49 preachers and 58 lawyers; of the preachers, 2 became bishops and 2 moderators of their respective church bodies. Of the lawyers, 19 became judges of courts, serving the general government, 27 became army officers, and 21 held civil appointments. There were 14 members of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives; 4 were United States Senators; and three held positions in the National Cabinet. Two became state governors, and one a lieutenant governor; 21 served in state assemblies, and 5 were members of state cabinets. To higher education these twelve classes

furnished 11 principals of schools, 10 college presidents, and 15 college professors, besides many other teachers and one state superintendent of schools. There remains one outstanding man, not coming under any of the above heads: Spencer Fullerton Baird, whose record has already been sketched. St. Paul's Cathedral in London has a tablet with an inscription to Sir Christopher Wren, "If you would see his monument, look around"; so, if you would see what the College was doing, look at its product.

The story of this period may well close with extracts from a letter of Bishop Thomas Bowman, valedictorian of the Class of 1837. It was written in 1902, twelve years before his death, while he was living in retirement with his daughter in East Orange, New Jersey. The Bishop wrote:

In my boyhood days, living near Berwick, Pa., we had very poor public schools. I had to walk nearly three miles to find a teacher that could instruct me in English grammar. When fourteen years of age, I was sent to an academy at Wilbraham, Mass. There I found things in a very fine condition and I began to prepare for college.

At the end of the year, I returned home and my parents having learned of a good school nearer our residence, I was sent to the seminary at Cazenovia, N. Y. There I spent three very pleasant and profitable years.

In 1835 when I left the Seminary I expected to go to the Wesleyan University in Conn., but my father having learned that the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conferences of our Church had recently taken possession of the old Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pa., which had been transferred to them by another denomination, and feeling that we ought to be loyal to our Church, decided that I should go there and graduate. I cheerfully consented, and in 1835 went to Carlisle and entered the Junior class. I found Carlisle a nice country town, located in a beautiful valley and occupied by a fine class of people. The College had been two years at its work. It had but one building on its nice campus. The building contained a chapel, several recitation rooms, two society halls, a library, and a number of small rooms used as dormitories for students. There were less than 100 students in the College and Grammar School. But they were a bright and promising company of young people. The Faculty was not large, but was a very able body of thoroughly educated men. They had no elective studies as the colleges now have. But we had a thorough course of Latin, Greek and English, which required much hard study and gave us good mental training. Our dear President, Dr. Durbin, and all the Professors,

did excellent work for the moral as well as the intellectual training of the students. They were a body of noble Christian workmen.

In 1837 our class was the first to graduate after we took possession of the old College. After graduating I spent one year in the Law School under the noble Judge Reed. But having become deeply impressed with a sense of duty to enter the ministry, I joined the Baltimore Conference in 1839. After one year's work on a large circuit, I was unexpectedly, at the request of Dr. Durbin, sent to teach in the Grammar School of the College. After three years of pleasant work, my health declined and I was obliged to retire.

In the later years of my life, especially since 1872 (as Bishop of the Methodist Church), my official work has called me all over the United States and through many distant lands. Thus I have had the opportunity of visiting nearly all the old and valuable colleges and universities in our own country and in many foreign lands and I am now pleased to say that I never was ashamed of my old Alma Mater, and never regretted that I was sent to graduate in dear old Dickinson College. God bless the Trustees, the President and Professors, and all her students forever.

JESSE TRUESDELL PECK—1848-1852

A MISFIT AND RESULTANT DISORDER

PRESIDENT EMORY died in Baltimore on May 18, 1848, and at the next meeting of the Board, Dr. Durbin, their one-time President and now a trustee, was unanimously elected to succeed Emory. The election was on the nomination of Bishop Waugh, and occurred on the morning of July 13. Durbin's declination was presented at the afternoon meeting "owing entirely to private conditions," because of which he had resigned four years before. Jesse T. Peck was then chosen president. He was born in 1811, educated at Cazenovia Seminary, preached in various churches 1832-1837, and had served as head of two seminaries 1837-1848, when he came to Dickinson College. He resigned in 1852 and returned to the pastorate. Twenty years later, in 1872, he was elected Bishop, an office he filled till his death in 1883.

Peck took up the duties of his office in September following his election. Though he had had some educational experience, he was not a college man, wherefore his administration seems to have had the seminary coloring, rather lacking the college spirit. Some of his students thought that he treated them as boys, though they doubtless thought themselves men. It would be difficult to believe some of the traditional stories about him, were it not for evidences in his own annual reports to his Board. One report records his high commendation of one of his associates as "a police officer of great diligence"! Let it be hoped that in this he did his associate injustice, for the man so characterized afterward gave a good account of himself both in the College and elsewhere.

Peck came to the College at a difficult time, for it had just lost two of its strongest men, Caldwell and McClintock, and the other two, Allen and Baird, left two years later.

He had, therefore, a hard task, perhaps all the harder because he was so different from Emory, his predecessor, whom the students had greatly admired. The student impression of him, probably a little exaggerated, is well given in Moncure D. Conway's "Autobiography":

Unfortunately the College also was demoralized that autumn. The institution, bereaved of President Emory, had gone on smoothly enough while the presidential functions were entrusted to our beloved McClintock, [Allen it was] but on an evil day Rev. Dr. Jesse T. Peck was elected. Our immature minds could not appreciate his good qualities, while his large paunch, fat face, baby-like baldness, and pompous air impressed the whole college as a caricature. He had been a school-teacher, and called us "boys," and we thought him inclined to discipline us like boys. . . .

Several incidents occurred, one involving my chum, Henry Smith, another myself, which stirred my dislike of Peck into wrath; and I tried a practical joke on him, which brought me remorse, and is mentioned here only because it has become a college tradition.

Several erroneous versions of this incident have appeared, and others besides myself have been connected with it. I am, however, the only culprit. A Methodist Conference was to gather at Staunton, Va., and President Peck was to read there a report on the College. Staunton was famous for its lunatic asylum, whose physician was Dr. Stribling. Under an assumed name, I wrote to Dr. Stribling that a harmless lunatic had gone off to Staunton who imagined himself President of Dickinson College, and fancied he had a report to make to the Conference. Dr. Peck's appearance was described minutely, and Dr. Stribling was requested to detain him in comfort until his friends could attend. As Dr. Peck was travelling with other Methodist ministers, I could not suppose that the missive would have any result beyond raising a laugh on him; but Dr. Peck was met by Dr. Stribling in his carriage, and supposed that such was the arrangement of the Conference for his entertainment. Of course, the deception was soon discovered at the asylum. I perceived that Dr. Peck was convinced that I was the guilty one, and it must have been through him that my name became connected with the affair.

Another occurrence of like character is vouched for by Thomas G. Chattle, M.D., who graduated in 1852, when Peck left the College. Chattle was for twenty-two years a trustee of the College, holding that position when he wrote the story of an "Oyster Hunt in Cumberland Valley." It appears in "The Dickinsonian" of April, 1877, and had to do

with cars on the siding in front of the campus. These cars occasionally contained eatables, and students, unfortunately, would break in and steal. In December, 1849, in stage whispers in the hall outside the President's office, the faithful were called on to get some oysters from one of these cars. The boys hurried off to the car, opened the door, and got *under* the car, making noises as though from within. The President appeared, as they had expected, and called on them to come out. Silence followed. After repeated calls he climbed in himself, then the door was closed, and he was a prisoner. The rest of the story seems too rich to be true. Chattle says the car was pushed over a little grade at West Street, so that it ran by gravity to the bridge over the Letort. The prisoner was not released for some hours. He further says that a green officer was sent up to the College to arrest the guilty party, and was directed to Peck's office, where he was told he would find the guilty man, and could see the shells of the oysters in the next room (where the boys had put them). The arrest of Peck followed. But this seems highly improbable.

Another traditional story, current in the College as late as 1875, had to do with the embargo on firearms or deadly weapons of any kind in the College. This may have been a survival from the days when two duels had occurred at the College, in one of which a student was killed. Tradition said that President Peck announced in chapel that at the next chapel service the students were to bring in and surrender all firearms in their possession. They obeyed the letter of the law with all their coal-scuttles, shovels, and pokers. This suggests that there was yet in force some of the archaic regulations of the olden time, as that of 1822 under Mason: "No student shall keep for his use or pleasure any riding beast; nor a dog or gun, firearms or ammunition; nor sword, dirk, sword-cane or any deadly weapon whatsoever."

This may not seem a very happy introduction to Peck's administration. His stay was only an episode in the college life, and he left hardly a ripple on its surface. During his

four years there was plenty of discipline of a kind, usually without decisive penalties for serious offences but with many little penalties for petty ones, and even these often recalled on petition. During the third year, however, there was a clear conspiracy of two classes, all the members of which absented themselves from recitation to attend a funeral in town, though permission had been refused. They had all signed an agreement: "Resolved, That the fate of one member who signs this be the fate of all." Peck made them a really fine statement of the necessary bearing of their action, and asked them to answer two questions: First, whether they had done wrong in the matter; and, second, whether they withdrew their names from the paper of conspiracy they had signed. They almost unanimously answered both questions in the negative, and were suspended till they had changed their positions. After two days they sent a committee to the Faculty, conceding: (1) That organized resistance to the college government should be rebuked; (2) that the Faculty have the right to rule; (3) that by their act they had not intended to assume the excusing power; and (4) that they did wrong in taking the liberty refused by the President. The students were readmitted to the College on this basis, and the matter was closed. A somewhat similar case arose nineteen years later, generally called "The Rebellion" by the few living graduates of the time. Both occurred under the presidency of men not especially wise in discipline, and both might possibly have been avoided by proper handling.

The student attitude, probably, the college reputation, certainly, was shown by the lessening student body. From 213 in College and Grammar School the year before Peck came, attendance fell the first year to 191, the second to 152, the third to 176, and in his fourth to 156, a decrease of 57—50 in the College and 7 in the Grammar School. Thus the number of college students had decreased nearly one-third, from 158 the year before he came to 149, 116, 111, 107 during his four years.

Two men came into the Faculty with him, Otis H. Tiffany

of the Class of 1844, and James W. Marshall of the Class of 1848. The former, after nine years of teaching at the College, had a brilliant career as a preacher; and the latter, after fourteen years as Professor of Languages in the College, was our Consul at Leeds, England, then Assistant Postmaster General and Postmaster General, 1869-1874. The degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by the College in 1888. Two other men came to the Faculty in 1850. Erastus Wentworth came from the presidency of McKendree College, and four years later went to the China mission field. Herman Johnson remained at Dickinson till his death in 1868, the last eight years serving as President. Another Professor of the time, Thomas Emory Sudler, was born in 1800, graduated from the Military Academy at West Point in 1820, but resigned from the Army in 1821. He was a member of the Maryland Legislature, and served as Professor of Mathematics at St. John's College, 1836-1840. Early in Durbin's administration he was elected to the same professorship in Dickinson College, but declined the call. He was again elected, and in 1840 accepted the appointment and served for eleven years. By all accounts he was a fine Christian gentleman but a poor teacher, and in 1850 he was notified that his connection with the College would close in 1851. At that time he had not been able to locate for the following year, but presented his resignation with the statement that personal and family afflictions had militated against his securing a place. The Board accepted his resignation, but, poor as the College was, they voted him a bonus of \$750 in four quarterly payments. He afterward taught in the Female College in Wilmington, Delaware, where he died in 1860.

Dr. Peck probably had not had an altogether happy time with the trustees. On one occasion the Finance Committee unanimously disallowed small bills he had directed the Treasurer to pay. He evidently asked for "yeas and nays" in the committee, and got them; he alone "yea," the others "nay." Some time after he left the College, bills were presented for telegraph service rendered him, and the same

committee refused to pay them. In 1851 he announced to the Board: "I have been for some time convinced that my happiness and usefulness and perhaps my health and life would require me to change my field and kind of labor at as early a period as possible. . . . I have determined to follow strictly the indication of Providence and seek rest from cares and labors to which I feel myself poorly adapted." He then tendered his resignation to take effect at the close of the next college year, in July, 1852.

Durbin, Roszell, and McClintock were on the committee appointed to consider this resignation, all at one time or another on the Faculty. This committee reported one year later, through Durbin, its chairman, accepting the resignation; and while saying no word as to the success of Dr. Peck's work, the report was generous in its recognition of the zeal and fidelity of his service, also of his character as a man.

Peck left two troublesome legacies to his successor—college scholarships and secret fraternities. During the closing months of Peck's administration, but apparently on the inspiration of Professor Johnson, a far-reaching scholarship sale movement was planned, by which it was hoped to render the College independent of tuition fees through the sale of a large number of tuition scholarships. Peck had had little to do with it, beyond its adoption; the development of the movement and the change to the new policy fell to the care of Collins, his successor. It doubtless brought Collins many unhappy hours, for it was poorly planned, as will be described under his administration. The fraternity questions rising during Peck's administration and assuming prominence in that of Collins' will be discussed in the chapter on Fraternities.

CHARLES COLLINS—1852-1860

ORDER REESTABLISHED

CHARLES COLLINS, who succeeded Peck, was born in Maine in 1813, graduated in 1837 from Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, was principal of the high school of Augusta, Maine, for one year, and then became President of Emory and Henry College in Virginia. From thence he came to Dickinson in 1852 at the age of thirty-nine years. Dickinson College had given him an honorary D.D. in 1851.

On his arrival in Carlisle, Collins had to face the continuing financial difficulties which, as previously detailed, had led the trustees to try the scholarship plan. He seems to have been so good a man for these difficulties that for two years, wonderful to say, he reported an annual surplus of \$808 in 1853, and \$1,282 in 1854. The new scholarships then in effect cut off all revenues from tuition, resulting in a deficit of \$3,000 in 1855 and \$1,200 in 1856, both clearly due to the operation of the newly issued scholarships. It was a tragedy that these scholarships, which were to relieve the College, really embarrassed it, but the reason is not far to seek.

The scholarship plan had been adopted in principle by the Board in 1851, being then referred to a committee to work out in detail; and a special meeting of the Board was held February 18, 1852, to consider this committee's plans. This meeting approved a plan to sell a large number of cheap scholarships in order to increase the endowment to \$200,000. Scholarships for four years were to be sold for \$25; ten years, \$50; and twenty-five years, \$100. These scholarships were to be accepted for tuition in the College. For its success the plan needed the approval of the Conferences, and the special February meeting of the Board as above was held, so that their scholarship plans could go to the spring Conferences

for approval. The plan was adopted by the trustees and presented to the Conferences, which heartily adopted it.

Straightway after the Conference approval in 1852, Conference agents began to seek subscriptions for scholarships in all their territory. No scholarships were to be distributed or money collected for them until \$100,000 had been subscribed. By the time the Board met in 1854, this first \$100,000 had been nearly subscribed, and the small balance was taken at Carlisle by the commencement visitors and trustees. Strange as it now seems, it was ordered that the plan should go into effect at once, so that even the following year, tuition might be paid by these scholarships.

This action was foolish in the extreme. No funds to take the place of tuition fees could possibly be available from the new source for a whole year. No scholarships had been delivered, and not a dollar of the additional endowment hoped for from scholarship sales had yet been secured. Much less could there be any added income from increase of invested funds, and from such income alone could the loss of tuition be supplied. Conference agents, it is true, at once began to distribute scholarships and collect money for them, but this required time. If all could have been collected at once, it could not have been invested so as to bring the quick returns needed for the next year's college needs. All but sixteen students who came to the College in September, 1854, and all but three the next term, had scholarships. Tuition fees had disappeared. Disaster faced the College.

The men responsible for this wretched business were sensible men of affairs, and it seems only fair to them to seek some explanation of their unfortunate action. A possible solution is suggested in the report of Collins in 1856. It seems probable that, in their joy at reaching the first \$100,000 at this 1854 commencement, representatives of the Conferences present made unofficial promises of help from the Conferences—promises not fully realized. The Conferences at their next sessions in 1855 took official action to raise \$6,000 for the College, interest on the \$100,000.

They seem to have raised \$3,000 instead of \$6,000, and so the disaster. At any rate it was a bad situation.

Other evils followed, even worse, if that were possible, because of their permanent character. All the energies of the agents were at once necessarily turned to the distribution of scholarships and the collection of money for them. The additional \$100,000 of the plan was neglected, with little of it ever subscribed. They stopped halfway in getting subscriptions, and added to their investments less than half of the first \$100,000 subscribed. Their invested funds before the scholarship campaign had been about \$32,000, at its close \$70,000, showing an addition of \$38,000. The expenses of agents had been heavy, and many scholarships subscribed for in the early campaign were never taken or paid for by the subscribers. Little was added to the permanent funds. Tuition fees practically disappeared for many years, and old scholarships even yet appear from time to time to worry college administrations.

Collins had two good first years financially, as already said, and two of heavy deficits during the change to the scholarship plan, while the College was without either tuition fees or increased endowment. To make conditions worse, living costs began to rise sharply. Increase of salaries, that the Professors might live, was absolutely necessary, and even during the disastrous first year of the scholarship plan \$300 was added to the President's salary and \$200 to that of each of the Professors. As Collins faced these hard conditions, he reported that he saw no way to make income meet expenses but through a larger return on their invested funds. He saw that much higher interest was paid in the West than in the East. In this extremity, therefore, he urged that the college funds be invested where they would command this higher rate of interest. Accordingly, the Conference Boards invested \$42,000 in the West at 12 per cent instead of the usual 6 per cent at home, and this, Collins said, was equal to an added \$42,000 of endowment on the old basis.

On the face of things, Collins was right, but then, as now,

abnormal returns were largely payment for the risk involved, and the investments were not safe. During the first year of this higher rate he had a surplus, but the next year he could meet expenditures only *if some delayed interest was paid*. The following year, 1859, he reported considerable unpaid interest, and in 1860 a loan of \$4,300 was necessary to meet accumulated deficits, which could have been paid had overdue interest from the West been received. For many years these western investments were a source of worry, and the "Milwaukee" loans became almost a byword. In 1879 there was definite acceptance of the loss of \$11,200 of this loan, and four years later the sum of \$20,000 of these funds so long in jeopardy was collected and safely invested.

This unwise investment venture is not properly chargeable to Collins. The business men on his Board were much more to blame than he, and should have prevented the blunder. Collins was really an efficient man in the business of the College. He was active in gathering funds for specific purposes. For years there had been an annual wail over the dilapidated condition of the college plant, and he got permission to spend a little money on paint and carpenter-work to keep the buildings from falling to pieces. The following year, however, he reported to the Board that without using their grant for the purpose, he had spent an enormous sum for the time—\$2,200—to put the buildings in shape, and himself, by personal appeals, had raised the entire sum. He bought and paid for a telescope for the College, and built the observatory which surmounted South College for so many years prior to 1927.

It seems almost petty to speak of pavements about the campus as a major trouble, but such they were. In 1855 the Borough had ordered pavements, but the College had sought delay. Yearly thereafter came a repetition of the order to pave, and in 1858 notice was given that the Borough would proceed with the work and add 20 per cent to the cost as a penalty for failure on the part of the College. The year following, the work was done by the Borough, and the next

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AT THE
DICKINSON



COMMERCIAL COLLEGE,

CARLISLE, PA.

ADVERTISEMENT OF A FORGOTTEN USE OF
SOUTH COLLEGE, 1865-1866



EMORY CHAPEL

A Methodist Church, 1858-1877
Emory Female College
Opened September 11, 1863

College Preparatory School, 1877-1888
Dickinson School of Law, 1890-1919
Now Site of United Brethren Church

year, 1860, Collins reported that a lien of \$1,200 had been entered against the college property, though he considered it questionable whether the property could be sold to secure the money. The trustees had no money to satisfy the lien. They had already borrowed largely to meet annual deficits, and now instructed the local Finance Committee to care for the matter as seemed to them best. The debt was acknowledged by the payment of interest on it for a time, and was apparently paid from the loan of 1861, when they borrowed from the two Conferences and funded their entire debt. In his report on this paving matter, the President said that the order to pave seemed to him "unnecessary and oppressive"; and it seems probable that the order was given with scant consideration for the institution struggling for its life, and without influential local backing. The cost was small in amount, as we see it today, but it added about 12 per cent to the whole annual budget of the College, and was a sort of "last straw," being possibly one of the things leading Collins to accept the opportunity to go to an offered position in the South, easier and more lucrative.

Two years after his arrival, Collins announced that he had secured the portraits of Nisbet, Emory, Caldwell, and Peck, had placed them in the college library, and that he hoped to secure others. Durbin and Allen, of the "others" meant, were in the Board to which he made the report, and he suggested that they might donate their portraits. Durbin's portrait came later from his daughter, Mrs. Fletcher Harper, of New York City. There are now portraits on the walls of "Old West" of all Presidents, some of them the gift of Boyd Lee Spahr, of the Class of 1900, now President of the Board of Trustees. President Collins initiated this movement, and President Filler completed it seventy-five years later.

Collins proposed an extensive building program, including a dormitory west of West College, and a Gothic chapel between East and West Colleges, to complete the row across the campus. He thought that the dormitory would accommodate 200 students at \$10 per year, and this would

abundantly care for the interest on the cost which was estimated at \$25,000. The building plans of later years have taken another direction, but friends of the College yet feel keenly that a chapel is much needed. When it comes, however, it is to be hoped that it may be colonial, as are the other characteristic buildings of the plant.

A second Methodist Church was built during Collins' time. It may be recalled that Dr. Crooks feelingly described Durbin's inaugural procession of 1834 to the Methodist Church in the alley, when apparently College and Church were on good terms. Division later arose on lines of "town and gown," and by 1854 college Methodism was worshipping in the college chapel, though commencement exercises continued in the church. In 1857, however, Collins reported to the Board that for some years permission to use the church had been given with increasing reluctance, and that it had been finally refused, so that the exercises would have to be held in the court-house. The reason assigned was that it would be a desecration of the church edifice. On this Collins said he would not comment. The old church had borrowed \$1,550 of the college funds and had been paying \$93 annual interest; but Collins reported at the same time that this interest had not been paid for three years and that the church proposed to repudiate the debt. Settlement was made several years later, but for a much smaller sum than the claim. Relations between the old church and the College were evidently very bad.

Growing out of these bad relations, a new church building project was entered upon, backed by the college people and in some ways by the college Board. The latter gave to the new church, Emory Chapel by name, some building materials lying unused on the campus, probably made small money contributions, later lent it money on mortgage, and finally took over the building, which it held for many years after the unfortunate venture was liquidated. The building was used for about twenty years for church purposes, a few years for the Preparatory School of the College, then for the Dickinson

School of Law. It was finally sold by the College to another church of Carlisle as the site for its own new building, with fairer promise than the one built there a half century before. Conditions may have forced action in this church enterprise, but the venture was unfortunate both in inception and outcome.

The principal track of the Cumberland Valley Railroad threads High Street in front of the campus, and its sidings in the western part of the town were a near-nuisance till very recent years. Attempts to get rid of them began in Durbin's time, but he reported to the Board that nothing could be done. There was in the early years a siding occupying a good part of what is now the sidewalk on the south of the campus, but this was finally removed. Another siding, however, was put down on the south side of the main track, and on this it was customary to load and unload freight cars. Against this there were almost annual protests on the part of the College during Collins' administration, with temporary abatement only until very recent years. Now all sidings have been moved to the west of the main college campus.

In 1855 it was stated to the Board that water had been brought to the town from the creek and had been introduced into the President's house in East College, and the laboratory in South College. The senior Professor asked that his house in West College also be connected. Shortly after this the two hydrants at the north of East and West Colleges were installed, and from these for many years successive generations of students carried water to their rooms. They had before obtained water from cisterns and from the old well near the southeast corner of West College. On this introduction of hydrants the well was closed, though a cistern at East College was kept in condition a few years longer.

General living conditions were very primitive, and little had been done in sanitation or the control of disease. A short time before this it was urged that the College open the middle of August, as it would bring students there before the malarial season had infected them at their homes; and

in 1853 an outbreak of smallpox in the College resulted in a requirement that students entering in future must show that they had been vaccinated. Probably few had this now almost universal protection.

In 1855 Collins announced the death of William M. Biddle, a trustee living in Carlisle who had for twenty-two years served faithfully and wisely. He had been legal adviser of the Finance Committee, of which he was secretary; and had often used his name and credit to strengthen the notes the College was compelled to negotiate. All this he did without financial compensation, wherefore the Board acknowledged his services in unusual resolutions, recording them in an unusual way. The Finance Committee cancelled their claim for tuition or fees from his son, in College after his death. He was the grandfather of E. M. Biddle, Jr., Class of 1886, President Judge of the courts of Cumberland County, 1922-1932, and uncle of Edward W. Biddle, Class of 1870, Judge of the county courts, 1895-1905, and President of the Board of Trustees for nineteen years, 1912-1931, resigning in June, 1931, shortly before his death.

Student numbers during Collins' time were about as before, but he seemed to handle them well. Tradition had it that he was chosen because he was such a disciplinarian as the College needed after Peck's administration, and he did take a firm grip on student life. Shortly after his arrival, the students tried to cry him down at evening chapel. He remained perfectly calm through it all, in no sense perturbed. The students, on the other hand, soon tired of their noise and grew hungry on the passing of the supper hour. Collins had his way, won the victory of the strong man, and put an end to such occurrences, which had been all too common during Peck's time. He met the fraternity question, as will appear under "Fraternalities," and his first report to the Board told of his handling of a conspiracy of the students. He forbade all meetings of students, classes, or organizations unless permission had been granted previously. So firmly did he establish this rule that it prevailed for at least twenty

years. It would astonish students of today to be told that such regulations ever existed. His methods would not succeed today, but in a few years he was able to report that there was "great peace and quiet" in the College; and the records of the meetings of the Faculty show that this was true.

Collins seems not to have had much respect for a custom merely because of its age. He laid heavy hand on the very early morning chapel. In 1839, under Durbin's administration, chapel hour for winter was changed to 7 o'clock in the morning, having been 6 o'clock before. The change was made following a largely signed petition of citizens of Carlisle. Some wag said that some of the signatures were secured because the signers were disturbed in their morning slumbers by the profanity of students plowing their way through the winter snows to chapel. The 7 o'clock hour seemed to be accepted as a necessary evil, and one hour better than before. Collins, at the close of his administration, made the chapel hour 8.45. There was a temporary return to 7 o'clock under Dashiell, but generally, after Dashiell's time, the chapel hour was, for a generation, about 8 or 8.30, just before the first recitation.

Collins resigned in 1860, at the close of eight years of service. His going was greatly regretted by the Board, and they said in generous fashion that the College under him had "prospered in an eminent degree." A comparison of their reception of his resignation with that on the going of his predecessor shows that they accepted as true the latter's statement that he was leaving work for which he was but ill fitted. Collins, on the other hand, seemed fitted for his task, and is supposed to have gone that he might make better provision for a growing family.

He went from Carlisle to a ladies' school near Memphis, Tennessee. James F. Rusling of the Class of 1854, and thus one of Collins' boys, told of an interesting personal encounter with Collins in Tennessee. Rusling was in military command of the Memphis section late in the war, and those

wishing to travel through the section applied to him for permits to do so. Collins was one of these applicants, but did not recognize his old student, Rusling, until he made himself known to his old college President. Rusling said that it gave him great pleasure to make it easy for Collins to go and come.

One of Collins' old students said that the students generally considered him favorable to the South, and this may have led him to go to the South when he left Carlisle. Collins died in 1875, and a few years later the yellow-fever epidemic in Memphis decimated his family, taking a son, a daughter, and a son-in-law at one fell swoop.

Like Atwater of fifty years before, Collins came from afar and went far away on leaving the College. For this reason, probably, neither of them has been much noted or long remembered in college circles. Both of them, however, seem to have been manly men, able and willing to do a full man's part.

HERMAN MERRILLS JOHNSON—1860—1868

DEATH IN VICTORY

ON THE RESIGNATION of Collins in 1860, Herman Merrills Johnson was chosen from the Faculty to succeed him, the first man to be so selected, though Davidson had served as Acting Principal for five years. Born in 1815 in New York state, Johnson graduated from Wesleyan University in 1839, was Professor of Ancient Languages in St. Charles College, Missouri, 1839-1842, in Augusta College, Kentucky, 1842-1844, and in Ohio Wesleyan, 1844-1850. He then came to Dickinson College as Professor of English Literature. It was not uncommon for college men to change departments of college work, as Johnson did when he came to Dickinson. Indeed, men were frequently changed from one department to another through all the earlier years of Dickinson College, and Johnson himself later taught moral philosophy and Biblical literature, thus covering most of the circle of college subjects, save only mathematics and the natural sciences. Johnson was a man of scholarly tastes, languages being his special love, and he found some time for authorship in spite of his manifold duties. His last remaining son recently sent to the college library the remnants of his father's private library, and both the character of the books sent and the evidence of use they bore gave testimony to his tastes. Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Spanish, and Italian were in the collection, and all had been used.

Other Presidents had their troubles, generally financial, and Johnson had these in abundance. He also had the Civil War, and that at once during his first year. Dickinson was a border college, with many students from the South, and all but four of these promptly left on the outbreak of the war in April, 1861. An old autograph album of the time, belonging to Francis B. Sellers of the Class of 1861, and now

in the possession of his son and namesake, contains the farewell words of some of these southern boys as they left college:

If I wear the "Phi Kap" badge, don't shoot me, Frank. Yours fraternally, H. Kennedy Weber, Baltimore.

May prosperity attend your paths both now, and in the future. Your friend of "Fort Miller Home Guards." Geo. Thos. Tyler.

Tomorrow I will leave for the "Sunny South." Farewell. Truly yours, Geo. R. Garner, Chaptico, St. Marys Co., Md.

Though I am a secessionalist, yet I am your friend. May prosperity attend you in all you do, except in making war upon the South. Yours fraternally, Cyrus Gault, Jr., Baltimore, Md.

May friendship bind us with its golden chain, and take the clasp to heaven. Thos. A. McCauls, Abbeville, South Carolina.

Some left without any very clear idea of the course they were to take, but they saw that things were happening and they proposed to have a part in them. One such, not many years since, wrote from Illinois a humorous letter about his leaving. He said that he and a companion first put up in the Carlisle square some sort of improvised Confederate flag, and then hurried off on foot to Hagerstown, his home. His record at the College showed that he had been an officer in the Union Army, and when asked whether it was a mistake, he answered in the negative; an uncle of his at home had shown him the error of his ways, and he had entered the Union Army, becoming a captain. The southern students at once left to aid the South, others to join the Union Army, and those who remained were restless and uncertain. They asked that the College close at once in April, 1861, though to what purpose it is hard to see. Of course, there was no thought of any such thing on the part of the college authorities, but the fact that the young men seriously raised the question shows their state of mind.

The Finance Committee of the Board was clothed with authority to act for the Board between its meetings, and on April 29, 1861, the records of the Committee show,

The President having brought before the Finance Committee the deranged condition of the studies of the Institution, and the desire of the students to adjourn the session, it is

"Resolved, that we see no necessity for or propriety in adjourning the session of the College, but only injury to the Institution and to the students by so doing. We therefore earnestly urge upon the students the propriety of pursuing their studies as usual, and guarding themselves against all undue excitement from any cause whatever.

"Resolved, that . . . if they are desirous of being hereafter serviceable to their country, the present is the most important period in their lives to prepare for future usefulness."

Those engaged in college education on the entrance of the United States into the World War will see that the experiences of 1861 had an almost exact parallel in 1917. The student reaction was the same, the faculty advice the same, and in 1917 it was backed by Secretary of War Baker of President Wilson's Cabinet, who said that young men could best serve their country by remaining in college till called to service by the Government. This sane word of his carried weight, and steadied young men in danger of acting under the influence of "undue excitement."

The College opening in the fall of 1861, after the beginning of the war, showed a sharp decline in college students, more than one-third less than the years before. For the North, at least, the Civil War was fought and won by young men, and many of those who would otherwise have gone to college entered her armies, so that college rolls were lessened during the war and for some time afterward.

Lincoln's first call for troops was for a service of ninety days only, and two regiments of Philadelphia troops were sent to the Carlisle barracks in August, 1861, to be mustered out at the end of their brief service. This brought the war yet closer to the College. Some of their sick were cared for in East College as a hospital, and on the opening of College were transferred to private homes. One of them died in the home of Jacob Rheem, a trustee of the College.

Another event of the war, outstanding for the College, was, in the fall of 1862, the occasion of Lee's invasion of Maryland and the threat of his further invasion of the North. In his next report for the Board in 1863, President Johnson

says of this, "About twenty of our students . . . rushed to arms in the common defense of country [doubtless as home guards]. . . . As soon as it was apparent that the threatened danger was averted [after the battle of Antietam], I applied to Governor Curtin [Pennsylvania's war governor, of the Dickinson Law Class of 1837], who courteously consented to the release of students from the ranks." These students were absent from College only one week. This invasion of Lee and the battle of Antietam occurred at the opening of the college year. The close of the same college year found Lee again threatening invasion, which culminated at Gettysburg just after the college commencement. On June 23, 1863, the day for the annual trustee meeting, only two trustees appeared, but seven answered roll-call the following day, not enough for a quorum. These seven trustees, however, met with the Finance Committee, and the necessary business of that year was transacted by that Committee instead of the Board. The year following, 1864, the Board adopted the 1863 actions of the Committee and ordered them entered on the trustee minutes as their own.

Two days after this joint Board-Committee meeting in 1863, Confederate soldiers were in Carlisle. In view of this near approach of the Southern Army, Johnson was justified in his strong words of praise of the restraint and poise of the students who remained in the College and completed their examinations. He said in his report:

The alarm came just as we . . . were ready to enter on the annual examinations. . . . The students remained quietly at their posts. The examinations proceeded in regular order; no appointed exercise had been omitted, nothing changed; and all the while the community around us had been a prey to the intensest agitation. We think that . . . their composure . . . displays the higher qualities of the philosopher. We feel that such young men can be trusted wherever duty shall call.

Thirteen young men were graduated, but there were no formal commencement exercises. They were called together in the Chapel, given their diplomas with the blessing of the College, and dismissed. So closed the college year 1862-1863.

Stirring times were just ahead of both town and College. On Friday, the day following the usual commencement day, the Confederates entered Carlisle from the west and were in undisputed control for some days. They then withdrew in the direction of Gettysburg. Contrary to the fears, even the expectations of the people of the town, this occupation was generally without outrage, or damage of any kind. Supplies were taken as needed, of course, but in general the occupation was above reproach.

Interesting stories of this occupation were in circulation for many years. Some of the officers had been stationed in Carlisle before the war and had enjoyed its social life. One of these officers attempted to renew these associations at the home of General Edward M. Biddle. When he had knocked at the door, Mrs. Biddle, with proper caution, asked from an upper window "Who is there?" and on being answered, asked again "Do you come as a friend?" "Always a friend to this house," was the reply. Whereupon, with true Spartan spirit, she replied "There are no friends to this house who are not also friends to their Country." The associations were not renewed.

Shortly after the withdrawal of the Confederates, a detachment of Union troops appeared under General William F. Smith, and while they were feasting at the square on the good things furnished by the townspeople, Fitzhugh Lee approached the town from the east, but was recalled, to keep in closer touch with the main Confederate body.

This second Confederate approach to the town resulted in the shelling of the town in an attempt to drive out General Smith's Union troops. Little damage was done, though there are yet markers on several walls of the town, "July 1, 1863," indicating places hit by shells. One of these markers on High Street is on the one-time home of J. Herman Bosler, Class of 1854. On a post-war visit of General Lee to Carlisle, he called at Mr. Bosler's office, when Mr. Bosler told him that he had left his visiting-card at his house in 1863, pointing to the marker on his house across the street.

One might expect the local papers of the time to give full accounts of the happenings to both town and College during these stirring days. Strange to say, however, they do not even mention the College. They were too much concerned about the town and its fate to refer to the College. Fortunately, a recent letter from Conway Hillman, the son of Professor Hillman of the College, gives the story of the invasion. Young Hillman at the time of the invasion was only seven years of age, but he doubtless saw much at the time and later heard the story many times at home and in the town, and as his letter emphasizes the college relationship, extracts from it follow:

There were two incursions of the rebels. First in late June, when they occupied the town without opposition, encamped in the campus, used East College for a hospital, and under orders from their superior officers put Old West under guard. Many of the officers were old Dickinson men and jealously guarded Old West, using it for their headquarters. The men "barbecued" their requisitioned cattle on the campus. One barbecue frame was made at a point in the front campus about where the northeast corner of Bosler Hall is now. Another was directly north of the center of Old West about halfway to Louthier Street. . . . It was rumored that a dead rebel was buried near this latter frame, but a search by Dave Thompson and me failed to locate the body, probably because we were not allowed to dig deep enough.

They left the town after requisitioning 300 wagon-loads of dry goods, boots and shoes, and groceries. The wagons were collected from the farmers of the valley. No further harm was done.

The shelling of the town came rather unexpectedly. The union troops were pushing up the Valley, and some artillery and a regiment or so of infantry under General "Baldy" Smith had entered the town and were deployed on the square, being fed and "coffeed" by the citizens, when their pickets were driven in by Stuart's cavalry, who were escorting a regiment and some artillery to the main body who were at Gettysburg. Coffee and grub were dropped, guns gotten into position in the square and set up to sweep the side streets. A demand for surrender was declined and one-half hour given to non-combatants to leave the town. Old Polly McGuinness, afterwards Mrs. Woods, who was making coffee for the soldiers, slapped General Smith on the back and said "Don't do it, General, don't do it as long as one brick remains on another." The rebels set fire to all the town east of the Letort spring, the "Garrison" gas works; and the houses along the streets were manned by sharp shooters, and Smith

was ready to repel a charge. About 300 shells were fired into the town. My recollections are that there are three or four markers placed, "July 1, 1863," where shells hit.

One hit South College just below the telescope, tearing thru the roof, beam after beam, and finally denting on a 4 x 8 a perfect impress of the fuse holder. Fortunately, it was a fuse shell and did not explode, being smothered by the impact with the 4 x 8. Father salvaged this shell and presented it to the College, together with invaluable letters from Benjamin Rush to Dickinson, when he was in Carlisle in 1900. Another shell hit the three windows of the old Dr. Johnson's recitation room in East College, exploded, tore out several cubic yards of stone work, wrecked the wood-work; recitation benches, desks and tables being in one confused mass. Three shells entered the old Thorne house, corner Bedford & Main (opposite the jail), one exploding in Mrs. Thorne's bedroom just after she had left the room and taken refuge in the cellar. The home was afterwards occupied by Congressman Beltzhoover. I do not know who has it now, or if it is in existence. We boys used to pick up pieces of shell for years after the battle. Several shells hit the columns of the court house, whose cupola was a target.

Hurry-up orders from headquarters of both armies to get across the mountain quick to Gettysburg halted the battle. . . . Both sets of men started for the big fight; the Union, reaching Mt. Holly Gap first, passed thru followed by the rebels. "No fighting on the way" being the strict orders on each side, exchanges of tobacco and coffee were freely made between "Johnny Reb" and "Yank" as the detachments would often be within hailing distance. . . .

Cellars were in demand during the shelling. One shell went thru the fence at Beetem's Lumber Yard, just north of Judge E. M. Biddle's house, which shell I recovered, father unloaded, and it is now in the possession of my brother, W. G. Hillman, in East Orange, N. J. The home guards were called out to police the field of Gettysburg and father never got over the sight of the dead along the route of Pickett's charge.

Mr. Hillman's statement that Confederate officers protected the college property has had wide currency among Dickinsonians, and is probably true. Dr. Himes, Professor for thirty-one years, used to tell a story too good to be omitted, and yet almost too strange to be true. It came to him from Charles F. Deems of the Class of 1839, a distinguished educator and divine. On the outbreak of the Rebellion, Deems was President of Greensboro College, North Carolina. As Deems said "Goodby and good luck" to a colonel friend, he told him to take good care of his old

college home in Carlisle, if he ever got there. That colonel later camped on the Dickinson campus!

Another reason for sparing college property was the fact that many officers had been at the Carlisle Barracks through the years, and felt well disposed to the place, as in the Biddle incident already given. Others had been students at the College, as many of the college students had been from the South.

Johnson had his war troubles, and they might seem enough for one man, but equally with his predecessors he had to struggle for the resources on which the College might live. The trustees knew of the financial needs, and probably their knowledge of his business ability, after his ten years of service as Professor, led them to select him as President. He was a scholar, but also a man of affairs, able to plan for the material interests of the College as well as to write books. He may not have originated the scholarship plans of the trustees nine years before, but more than all others he gathered facts for the Board, on which they based their scholarship drive. The troubles it brought to the College are not chargeable to Johnson, but to the time of putting it into operation. Had this been delayed another year or two, it might have yielded more satisfactorily. Whatever his ability to manage affairs, it was all needed to keep the College alive. With his back to the wall, fighting for the life of the College, he showed calm courage as he met each successive blow.

His first report of 1861 showed a deficit of over \$2,000, and there was a note in the bank for \$4,300 to cover deficits of previous years. Much more than these sums, however, was due the College as interest on western loans, part of which they were never to get, but on which in their distress they would fain rely. Additional bank loans were asked to tide over the difficulty, but banks were suspicious, and refused.

Johnson negotiated with the Conferences to take all the debts of the College as their own investments, so that the

College would have only these Boards as its creditors. They agreed, but mortgages on the college property had to be given; and, for the purpose of legal authorization of such a mortgage, a special meeting of the Board was held in Philadelphia in December 1861, the first meeting in that city since the original meetings for organization in September, 1783. At this meeting, arrangements were perfected whereby \$12,000 was secured to pay off all debts to others than the Conference societies. In this way there was temporary relief, but no small part of the invested funds was thus made unproductive.

In 1862 there was a deficit of \$2,100, and two years later one of \$3,025, with the instructors unpaid in that amount, having received only about one-fourth of their salaries for the year. Their salaries had been increased from \$1,000 to \$1,200 during Collins' time, and now, because of depreciated war currency, another increase to \$1,500 was made. It was clear that the College was in great difficulty, and in 1865, one year after the increase of salaries, the Board took the drastic action that in future the remainder of available college funds, after other bills were paid, should be divided *pro rata* among the members of the Faculty, and that this should be accepted as settlement in full of their salary claims. There was to be nothing above stated salaries, in case there should be a surplus; they could lose, but not gain; and they stood to lose.

In 1866, the year following this action, the Treasurer reported the amounts yet due the Professors as he had done in previous years. The Board, however, stood by their previous action; and, to avoid any future misunderstanding on the subject, required each member of the Faculty to sign formal acceptance of the regulation. All of them did so—Johnson, Hillman, Stayman, Bowman, Himes, and Cheston of the Grammar School. This period of the closing years of the Civil War seems to have been hard on other colleges, as well. The faculty of Lafayette was on practically the same basis of pay—to take what was left after the payment of

other claims—and their President Cattell had to raise the “prodigious sum” of \$30,000 within a year in order that Lafayette might continue to function. At the end of eleven months he had only \$10,000, but then found Pardee of Hazleton, and that family name bulks large in all the later history of Lafayette.

On the strength of the above arrangement that “no future debt can arise because said Professors have agreed to receive for their full pay the net receipts of the College, should the same fall short of their stated salaries,” the Dickinson Board again sought and secured from the conference boards on mortgage \$5,660, the sum necessary to meet all its obligations.

When conditions seemed darkest, light broke. The Centenary of American Methodism in 1866 was made the occasion of both religious celebration and grateful giving. The then patronizing Conferences united in making the College the recipient of most of these gifts within their borders, and very substantial additions were made to its funds. After visiting the Conferences in 1866, Johnson estimated that they would add \$200,000 to the college funds, and so reported to the Board. This estimate was too high, dictated apparently by his hopes rather than sober judgment. However, in 1867, Johnson could report to the Board that centenary contributions to the College were about \$100,000 above expenses. The invested funds now approached \$160,000, not counting conference loans of \$31,600 to the College, which were in effect unproductive. The centenary offerings had thus more than doubled the funds of the College. Professors' salaries for the previous year had been cut nearly 25 per cent, but the outlook for the future seemed bright. Johnson's report of 1867 was full of cheer, as he spoke of the “new hope and firmer purpose inspired by the events of the year.” The Board's Committee on Finance also saw “the beginning of a new and more prosperous life for the Institution.” This was Johnson's last report, for before the date of another report, “he

was not, for God took him." He had seen the land of promise from Nebo, but was not to enter it.

In the eight years of his presidency, he came into official touch with a large number of men in his own Faculty, or of men later to be associated with the Faculty, and to have much to do with the development of the College. Of the faculty members in 1860, when he became President, Marshall soon left to go to Leeds as Consul, and later to hold high political office; in 1865 Boswell withdrew to enter on a successful business career; and Wilson died after eleven years of service. Four new men entered the Faculty during Johnson's presidency. All of them remained for years, and some of these made valuable contribution to the College. The first of these was Samuel D. Hillman, Professor of Mathematics, who served the College well and faithfully in his department, as well as in various other ways. He was secretary of the Board of Trustees, Treasurer of the College, and Acting President on the sudden death of President Johnson in 1868. John K. Stayman took charge of Marshall's work when he left in the middle of Johnson's first year, and was elected by the Board in June, 1861, following. He remained with the College until 1874. In 1865 came Shadrack L. Bowman for a service of six years. In 1850 Judge Reed died, and the Law School was discontinued, but revived in 1862 under the tutelage of the then President Judge, James H. Graham, a graduate of the College, Class of 1827. An outstanding man coming during these years was Charles Francis Himes, who succeeded Wilson in the Faculty in 1865. He had graduated from the College in 1855, taught some years, and spent two years in study in Germany. He had made preparation for his work much beyond that of most college instructors of the time, and at once entered on a fine career of thirty-one years of successful teaching. His live and growing department became an inspiration and a stimulus to other departments. He was a very able man, and devoted his life largely to the College.

Before Himes came there had been a laboratory, in name

only, in the basement of South College, and never more than \$100 per year had been granted for scientific supplies. Under Himes came great changes. The college library had occupied the first floor of South College but was moved to the second floor; and the Scientific Department, laboratory, and lecture-room took over the first floor thus vacated. This arrangement continued till the erection of the Scientific Building in 1884. To the old pittance of \$100 granted annually for scientific supplies were added laboratory fees from all who took laboratory work. Bishop Matthew Simpson, of the Board which developed the plan, was sympathetic in every way, and Himes thus secured one of the earliest of small modern college laboratories. His laboratory work grew so that help was needed, and this was furnished by one of the students, whose reward was freedom from laboratory fee and the distinction of the appointment. Thus came "Dutchy's Devil," so well known by the students of Himes' generation, the first of laboratory assistants, now so common. This laboratory work was elective, a possible substitute for Hebrew and the classics. It was a sort of picket-line attack upon the rigidity of the old fossilized college course, the same for all. Himes was versatile, and served the College in many ways—Secretary of the Faculty and of the Board of Trustees, and Treasurer of the College for many years; and when there was a change of Presidents, 1888–1889, he was Acting President for nine months, being then seriously considered for the presidency.

During Johnson's time, several men, later to be closely associated with the College, played some little part in its history. In 1865 James A. McCauley, later to be President, was elected to the chair of Greek, but after some months declined, and his declination opened the way for Shadrach L. Bowman. McCauley was also alumni orator at one of the commencements, and in 1867 received an honorary D.D. A year earlier the same degree had been conferred upon Henry M. Harman, afterward to be Professor of Greek and Hebrew.

Johnson died suddenly, after only a brief illness, April 5,

1868, in his home in Carlisle. Professor Hillman was directed by the Finance Committee to serve as President *pro tem.* for the remainder of the year. In his June report to the trustees, Hillman stated that considerable improvements to the college property, long overdue, had been made, and suggested other needed extensive improvements. Before any action was had, a detailed report on college finances was made by W. H. Miller, a prominent Carlisle lawyer and member of the local Finance Committee. This report showed funds in care of Conferences actually invested, \$132,957.83; in scholarship funds, \$2,133.99; in care of the Board, \$18,749.73; special funds for Scientific Department, \$1,500— a total of \$155,341.55. Against this were liens of \$5,337.50, leaving net productive funds of \$150,004.05. It was estimated that from the revenues of the next year, 1868-1869, they could pay the Professors the remainder of salaries they had failed to receive of recent years, \$2,161.29, meet the expenses of the year, and still have a surplus.*

This endowment of \$150,000 seems small today, especially as tuition was largely by scholarships, and the main student revenue was from room-rents and incidental fees. The budget for twenty years, however, had ranged from \$8,000 to \$12,000; and the income from invested funds could now be estimated at such a figure as to make the probable income for the next year at least \$15,000, and possibly more. This seemed really wealth to them, and to warrant some advance.

Johnson, as already said, did not live to share in the improved fortunes of the College, though the considerable repairs reported by Hillman as already made, indicated that he had acted with greater freedom during his last year. The borough, too, opened North College Street, necessitating change in the location of the fence west of the campus and a great deal of grading, 500 loads of fill being required to

*One item of their estimated income would surprise people even in middle life. It was a premium on the gold they would receive in interest on their United States bonds. Government bonds were payable, principal and interest, in gold, and gold commanded a premium till the resumption of specie payments, January 1, 1879. The premium they estimated at \$1,200 for the year. Will such a situation recur in these days?

bring the walk up to grade. [This large amount of fill lends color to the theory that there was originally a natural water-course from Mooreland, running in a northeasterly direction back of West College, crossing Louthier Street about north of the latter, and so on through the northern part of Carlisle to the Letort. The depression in the present campus, even after much filling southwest of West College, also favors this view.]

Considerable had been done in the way of improvement before the commencement of 1868, and the Board was urged to make other changes. These they authorized by resolution, but very cautiously, mindful of their recent financial straits. They made plans for improvements to the extent of \$10,000, but only on condition that the money be secured before the changes were made. No money was raised for the purpose, and nothing came of their plans. One feature of the proposed change is interesting, as it throws light on the original plans of West College. They thought that there should be erected "a piazza and steps on the north side of West College, as was designed when the College was originally built." They decided also that there should be an "iron fence in front of the campus, and water closets attached to each building, with proper sewage leading from the same." With the last everyone would agree, but there is probably general satisfaction that the stone wall was not replaced by an iron fence.

It is hard to reconcile the financial settlement made by the Board with the estate of Johnson the second month after his death with those made in the cases of Emory and Caldwell twenty years before. In these they had been generous, granting Emory at least salary for a full year when he gave no service, but with Johnson, apparently, the reverse. When Johnson died there was due him \$219.53 on salary, and had he lived to the close of the year there would have been due him \$461.54 additional. A little over nine years before his death, Johnson had borrowed \$130 from the Belles Lettres Society, giving a note for the same, payable with interest.

This amounted to \$201.75 at the time of his death. The Board voted that they were trustees of the literary societies, and, as such, obliged to collect this debt. They, therefore, voted to pay the debt to the Society, and give Johnson's administrator the balance due after such payment, \$17.78; and this, they decided, settled all legal claims against them. This above was in accordance with one of two recommendations of a committee on the subject. The second recommendation of the committee stated that the salary to the close of the year would have been \$461.54 in addition, and "Therefore, Resolved, That the Treasurer be directed to pay to Mrs. Johnson, the widow of the deceased, the sum of \$461.54 for her own use and benefit, the same being intended as a present from the Board to said widow, and not to be liable for any debts due by said deceased." This second resolution of their committee the Board indefinitely postponed, and the first resolution was their only action. The following year, however, they were forced to take further action, on the presentation of a claim from Mrs. Johnson for the back salary her husband had not received, because of college deficits. The Board's answer to this claim was a résumé of previous actions of the Board and the action of her husband accepting the plan, which gave him the salary promised only in case funds were available to pay it. So the matter closed.

There may have been some reason for this almost harsh action of the Board. In 1867, the Board had passed a resolution to reorganize the Faculty of the College, but at a subsequent session voted to postpone action. No causes for the suggested need of reorganization appear in the record. There was evidently some restlessness. Later trustee action suggests that the discipline of Johnson's time was not satisfactory.

In 1869, at the close of Dashiell's first year, the Board expressed pleasure that Dashiell and the Faculty had "revived and executed rules of discipline in regard to the conduct of students, and this Board takes the opportunity

to express its determination to sustain the President and Faculty in maintaining good order in the College." Johnson may have been a poor disciplinarian, but even a good one with his other duties might have faltered at times. The apparently hard settlement is puzzling, at any rate. The Board may have been hard, even cruel, to the long-suffering Johnson, but he was laid to rest in Carlisle's historic "Old Graveyard" with the celebrities of her early history. A few years later the alumni of the College erected a ten-foot shaft of Italian marble over his grave, with the inscription "Eminent in scholarship and devoted to the interests of education. In grateful recognition of a teacher." Many years later the remains of the wife, who had wrought and suffered with him, were brought to Carlisle, and from the old college chapel were borne to their place of rest by the side of him who had gone before.

Some of Johnson's children made their way to useful, even distinguished position. The first honorary degree given a woman by the College went to Johnson's only daughter, Mary Johnson Dillon, of St. Louis. This was particularly in recognition of a book written by her, a portrayal of the beautiful social life of Carlisle, and especially of the college circle, during the days of her own girlhood and her father's presidency. Dickinsonians yet living recognize the picture as true to the life of their own time, and even for some years following her father's death. The town, as in the earlier days of the College, had still a notable social life, and the smaller college faculty circle of a few families, carefully picked for their culture and character, and all practically of similar Christian purpose, made a background for a picture almost idyllic in character. The book, "In Old Bellaire," is the best portrayal extant of the Carlisle life about the time of the Civil War.

ROBERT LAURENSEN DASHIELL—1868—1872

STUDENT TROUBLES

SEPTEMBER 8, 1868, following the death of Johnson in April, the Board in special meeting for the purpose of electing a President, chose Robert Laurenson Dashiell of the Class of 1846. He entered on his duties at once, and began an administration of somewhat less than four years. Dashiell was the first alumnus President of the College. He was born on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and, after graduation, taught a short time in Baltimore. He then served several pastorates—twelve years in the Baltimore Conference and eight years in the Newark Conference. This wide acquaintance he at once began to use for the advantage of the College. The house of the President had not been renovated for many years, and was doubtless, as Dashiell said in his first report, “untenantable.” This he repaired, and while not all the expense had been met the first year, he assumed the entire cost, as also that of other minor repairs about the plant. He proposed to raise funds for the purpose by appeals to individuals, and thus conserve the regular income for ordinary current expenses.

During his four years the college property was probably improved more largely than it had been since Collins fairly well went over it. Dashiell left the old property in good shape, had practically rebuilt the “tower and belfry,” as he called it, on West College. He erected on the campus the “pagoda,” which was for fifteen years the center of outdoor college gatherings. It was a simple structure in a grove of trees nearly south of the eastern end of West College and about two-thirds of the distance to the south wall of the campus. Many alumni of the period from 1870 to 1887, when it disappeared, will recall it with unfeigned pleasure. In his first report he referred to the need for additional buildings and some jester said the pagoda was the outcome—*Mons ruit, mus fuit*. Apart from the improvement in the college

plant, but little change was made in its material affairs. In 1871 Dashiell reported that a gentleman, not of the Methodist Church, had promised at some time to endow a professorship, and at a later date gave the name of Thomas Beaver of Danville. Nothing came from Mr. Beaver for many years, but in McCauley's time he did endow a professorship.



Old Pagoda

Another subscription of somewhat like character was announced by Dashiell, this one from Hon. Simon Cameron, Lincoln's Secretary of War for a short time, but nothing ever came of it, though the Finance Committee in 1870 urged the President to press the matter.

The troubles of the second Methodist Church in Carlisle, Emory Chapel, built in Collins' time, came to a head in 1870, and it developed that the College had lent the Church \$1,900 on mortgage, that the Church owed \$1,560 besides, and that it was unable to meet its obligations. On Dashiell's recommendation the College paid off the balance of the church debt and took a mortgage for all its obligations, assured that the property would soon be turned over to the College by the church trustees. An appropriation of \$100 was made to fit the church for commencement exercises and other college occasions, and it was so used by the College for some years, while the title was still held by the church trustees.

The Grammar School, in operation since 1773, was closed in 1869, and remained closed for eight years, though a few

preparatory students were allowed for a time to pursue their studies under college students as tutors. On the discontinuance of the School, the Principal, William Trickett, who had graduated from the College in 1868, became Adjunct Professor of Philosophy and English in the College. He continued in this relation for two years, went to Europe for two years' study, and returned as Professor in January, 1873, destined to become the center of a unique and serious college controversy which will be later reported.

In 1870, Henry M. Harman began his connection of twenty-six years with the College, as Professor of Greek and Hebrew. He was especially noted as student and author, and brought to the College no little reputation. He was a unique character in many ways—scholarly, lovable, gullible. One has said of him, "Dr. Harman was a scholar; as a teacher, informative but undisciplinatory; as a man, kind-hearted and easy to impose upon; ignorant of student human nature, though constantly living with it." His name is borne by one of the women's literary societies.

Dashiell's particular troubles were not financial, as with most of his predecessors, nor with war and finances, as had been the lot of his immediate predecessor, but with students. He probably thought at times that his lot would be a happy one could he have a college without the troublesome students ever present!

The trouble may have been with the students; those of his time may have chanced to be a little more restive and difficult to handle than other generations, or the trouble may have been in the handling. The hand at the helm may have been either uncertain or weak. His first report on the order of the College suggests that he may have been tempted to interfere with discipline when wiser and more experienced educators would have stayed their hands. This report said that the student order had been generally good, that his associates thought it very good. "Perhaps I have looked at their conduct from the standpoint of the pastorate, and my judgment has been not so favorable as theirs. One thing I

am happy to state, the few violations of order have been generally the outcroppings of mischief and playfulness." At the same time he speaks of the disorganized habits of study growing out of the war [now more than four years past], and the troubles he was having in raising the standards and enforcing attention to study. "This has caused some friction. The President has not escaped the usual maledictions and imprecations which are the perquisites of the office. But already an increased promptness and accuracy encourage us to hope for the best results."

During his first year he was conscious of restlessness of the college body under discipline, but while there were frequent individual cases, there was no outstanding trouble. Toward the close of the second year, however, occurred "The Rebellion," so called by the students involved in it. It was on this wise: April 26, 1870, two classes asked Professors Trickett and Stayman to excuse them to see some event of interest in the town, and on being refused permission, cut the two classes and saw the event. The Faculty met at once, and, apparently without conference with any of the absentees, imposed "minus marks," in the parlance of the time, in very large numbers, as much as 500 to a single student. As minus marks counted against standing, this was almost as much as 25 per cent of the marks some students would make in the year. Three days later committees from the two classes met the Faculty and apologized and explained their action, asking also an amelioration of the penalty. The Faculty thereupon changed their penalty, assessing 300 minus marks on some, 200 on others, and 100 on yet others. The purpose of the varying penalty for the same offense seemed to be that they might avoid any horizontal reduction of grades, so as to leave all in the same relative position in class standing. The students involved objected to this kind of penalty, and the following paper from them was before the Faculty the next day. "The junior and senior [it should be sophomore] classes have notified the President of the College that whilst entering

their protest to the action of the Faculty, they, to prevent all further aggravation, will absent themselves from all duties until the Faculty and the students come to an understanding." And so the war was on.

This paper was considered at a Saturday night meeting of the Faculty, but the President was instructed to inform the committees that night "that the duties of the College will go on as usual, and that the determination of the Faculty . . . will be made known on Monday morning in the chapel at morning prayers." It is probable that church attendance and worship for both Faculty and students was only formal on that Sabbath! Feeling was doubtless intense, with students because of uncertainty, and with the Faculty because of the grim fight they must have known was on their hands. Their announcement on Monday was that any member of the Sophomore or Junior class absent from any exercise without excuse handed the President the same day "shall be and is hereby suspended from the College until the first Thursday in September [the opening of the next college year], to be restored at the end of that time only on making satisfactory acknowledgment to the Faculty; and that any student so suspended is required to leave town for home on Tuesday before 5.20 P.M. under penalty of expulsion." On the following Wednesday the minus marks were taken off the record of one student who had been absent from the two classes in question for other reasons than this class conspiracy. The President was authorized to grant permission to any suspended student on his personal application to be present in Carlisle for the commencement exercises a little over a month later. This permission was not necessary, for though the members of the two classes retired from College and went to their homes, the matter was settled before commencement, when all were again in good standing.

The settlement was thus brought about: The suspension occurred May 2, and presumably all went home not later than the following day. Just two weeks after the suspension, May 16, a committee from the classes involved, two of them

living near the College, presented the following paper for faculty consideration. "Whereas, it is evident to us that there have been misunderstandings of the communication made to the Faculty by the students; and whereas, we have shown, we think, a proper spirit since our suspension; and, whereas, we are satisfied that in the matter of minus marks the Faculty will, on a proper and full consideration of our complaints, do us justice, we respectfully request that you will repeal the penalty of suspension now in force against us, in order that we may resume our relations with the College." The Faculty replied, in part: "Whereas, the classes have . . . expressed their confidence in the purpose of the Faculty to do right; and, whereas the Faculty feel that the ends of discipline contemplated in their original action, have been secured, they accordingly order that the penalty of minus marks be freely and fully remitted."

So closed "The Rebellion," though there remained, doubtless, many sore spots in the College and in the minds of individual students. Edwin Post, valedictorian of the Class of 1872, was one of these. He was a great teacher of Latin, and for many years Dean of De Pauw University. His letter on the subject not many months before his death says:

You ask me for what information I may be able to give you about the college "rebellion" that occurred in my time. I am not sure that I can recall all the details, though they were enough in evidence at the time.

The facts were about as follows: The colored folk of Carlisle planned to celebrate the adoption of the fourteenth amendment, and some well-known speaker (white) was to speak. The classes of 1871 and 1872 requested Professor Trickett to excuse them from one recitation that they might hear the address. He refused. Nobody save John Wilson put in appearance at the recitation. Neither class held any meeting and voted to cut, nor was there any "conspiracy," as the Faculty charged. Doubtless groups said to each other they were going to hear the address. The Faculty met at once, and through Trickett's influence, as we understood, from 300 to 500 marks were placed on the rebels. Had these marks been assessed equally, peace might have been made. But it was given out that the marks were loaded on the men in the class who presumably stood highest, on the theory that they presumably had the influence to control the class. Then the classes voted not to attend classes further unless the injustice was righted. We were then notified to go home within 24 hours

under the sentence of indefinite suspension or suffer expulsion. This we did, of course. Subsequently the trustees in some way interfered and we received notice from the Faculty, that "in view of the fine spirit shown by the members of the two classes" . . . whatever that meant . . . We were at liberty to return the subsequent year. Out of about 40 of my class, but 16 came back, though two persons joined our class later, so that we graduated sixteen. I should not have returned, but for my father, who did not wish me to graduate at a Presbyterian college. I expected to enter Princeton. My experience long rankled.

I well remember purposely avoiding Dr. Himes on the grounds of the Centennial Exposition in 1876, because I did not wish to meet him, and when I returned to Carlisle for the 45th anniversary of my graduation, I did not care to meet Dean Trickett.

The Senior class had no thought, apparently, of taking part in the trouble; their graduation was too near to be jeopardized; or less likely, they had no sympathy with the two classes. The Freshman class, however, was in a turmoil, and, as shown by extracts from another letter from a member of that class, came very near going out on a sympathy strike. The letter says: "1870 stood aloof, being too near graduation. The class of 1873 (my class) held a meeting in the old pagoda on the campus (a favorite meeting-place) and after three hours wrangling decided by a close vote not to join (we had no grievance). Many thought we should, but the majority decided no. Prominent amongst those who wanted to join the rebellion were G. E. Wilbur (Pop) and Jim Dale. The conservatives were Bender, Hillman and Biddle. The matter was compromised. After 1870 took their recess before commencement the old college was lonely, only 23 members of 1873 in attendance."

During the next college year there were student troubles again, though this time of students with students. The Union Philosophical Society had internal troubles; they were not able to hold meetings without coming to blows. There is no record of the cause, progress, or close of the trouble. A member of the college Class of 1872 who was engaged in the trouble has given an account of it. It seems that the non-fraternity students of the College found that fraternity men so managed college politics as to get all

desirable offices in the two societies of the College. They came to a secret agreement, therefore, that all non-fraternity men of the Belles Lettres Society should resign. Their fellow non-fraternity men of the Union Philosophical Society would hold a hastily called meeting of their society, and admit the resigned Belles Lettres non-frats to the Union Society. They would thus be all together, and able to get some of the offices for themselves by weight of numbers. The plan was discovered, and a quarrel between the fraternity and non-fraternity men of the Union Society occurred in the Union Hall, and resulted in physical violence—a real fight—to prevent the carrying out of the proposals of the non-frats. Members of the Union Society were expelled and admitted to the Belles Lettres Society, so that there was also an inter-society quarrel. The Faculty tried to settle the trouble, but, with the usual result for those who mix in family brawls, their actions were resented by both sides. The local trustee Finance Committee was called in to help, but to no avail. The Union Philosophical Society was finally closed by faculty order, and their case was referred to the next meeting of the Board, also to no avail. After another year, however, Dr. Dashiell was able to report that the Society had in some way composed its own difference. "It will gratify you to know that the troubles in one of the literary societies, which met you on your last assembly, have passed away. The combatants have worked together pleasantly."

This announcement of the President was followed by reference to another phase of organized student life. There has never been any formal repeal of the 1852 ban on fraternities, but at the close of Dashiell's term several fraternity chapters were in full swing in the College, and an anti-fraternity organization existed, called the Independents. In his final report, Dashiell recognizes the *status quo*, saying, "The young gentlemen of the Independent persuasion have organized a new Fraternity, and wear with proper pride a beautiful badge, as the symbol of their new order. This, I think, will finish for some years the war. . . ."

JAMES ANDREW McCAULEY—1872-1888

A MAN OF PEACE IN A STORM

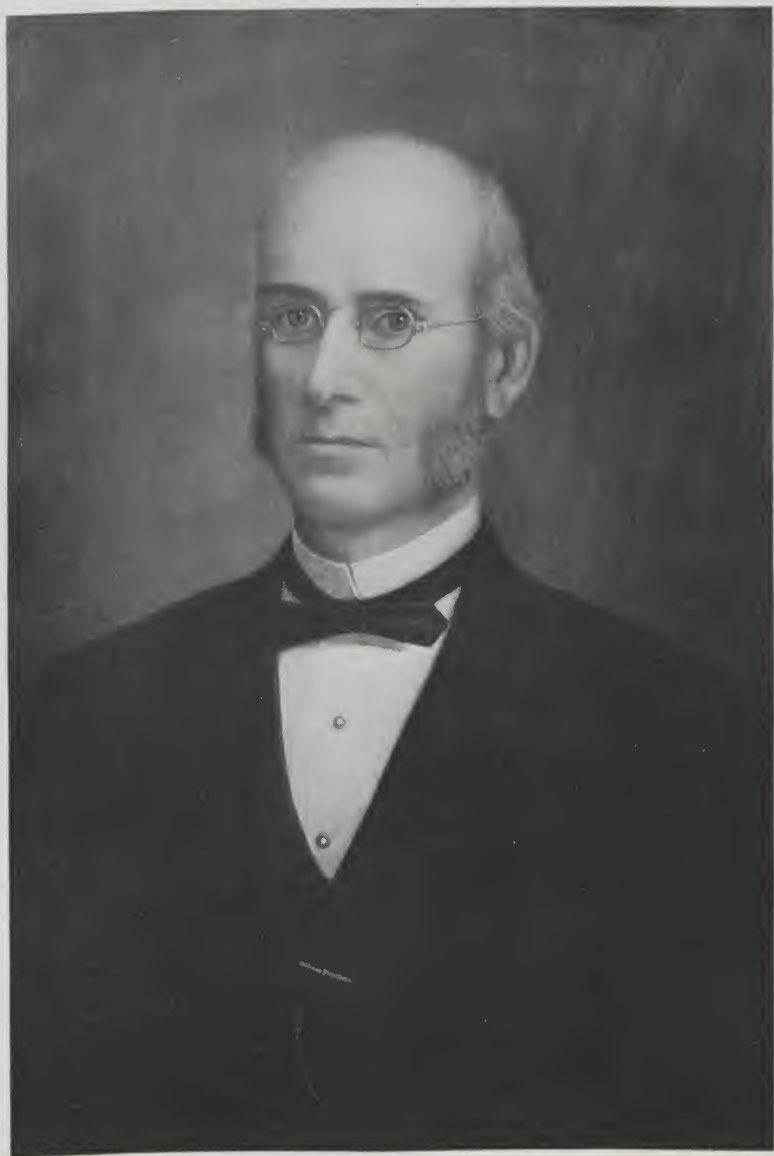
WHEN the Board met in June, 1872, it was known that Dashiell was to leave the College at the close of the year, as the General Conference of the Methodist Church, at its May meeting, had elected him Missionary Secretary. By a strange coincidence he was to succeed Durbin, who now, after five successive elections and a service of twenty-two years, was to lay down the official burdens and retire, four years before his death. Several names were mentioned for the presidency, but after an informal ballot the Secretary was unanimously ordered to cast the ballot for James A. McCauley, D.D., "who was then declared duly elected." McCauley was born in Cecil County, Maryland, in 1822, was graduated from the College in 1847, and was thus the second alumnus of the College called to its head. He taught for three years in Baltimore, was principal of a girls' school in Staunton, Virginia, for two years, served pastorates in the Baltimore Conference, 1854-1870, and had been Presiding Elder of the Washington District for two years, when elected President of Dickinson College.

Those who knew McCauley best regarded him as a lover of peace, yet he became involved in trouble early in his administration which followed him to its close. However, his administration was a memorable one, for there was marked growth in the College during his time. Its invested funds doubled, the three old college buildings were thoroughly renewed as never before, and new buildings were erected and equipment installed, probably equal in value to the existing plant when he came. Yet he was forced to retire in the midst of the largest forward movement in the history of the College. It was a tragic end of an outstanding administration; a relentless Nemesis seemed to follow him after

events of the close of his second year, for which it seems hard to decide whether he should be blamed or pitied.

McCauley, elected in June, 1872, entered upon his duties on the opening of the next college year. Inaugurations were simple matters in those days. "The Dickinsonian," a college paper established at the time of his coming, says that on August 30 "a large audience of ladies, trustees, alumni and students convened in the college chapel [it would seat at most two hundred people], and gave the Doctor a warm and enthusiastic greeting as he entered, followed by the Faculty, the trustees resident in the town, and the clergy, who represented nearly all the churches of the borough." Professor Hillman presided and called on one of the local pastors to lead in prayer; on Dr. Wing to speak for the clergy; and on Col. R. M. Henderson to speak for the alumni. Some letters, written almost seventy years before on a similar occasion at the College, were read, probably by Dr. Robert Davidson, whose father had presided over the College 1804-1809, and who had been born in Carlisle a few years before his father's death in 1812. By some happy coincidence this son of the early Professor and Acting Principal was present, to connect the old and the new. Dr. Harman spoke for the Faculty, promising mental, moral, and, in case of need, physical support to the new President, a promise to be kept for a dozen years, after which the two good men, old and dear friends, became estranged. A student pledged student support, and for some reason spoke of the desire "for a President who would attend to the *immediate* interest of the College," and as he closed with a "Welcome," three times repeated, the student body broke out in cheers, though "cheer-leaders" were then unknown. The new President acknowledged the graciousness of his reception, pledged his best efforts to the College, and called on them all for support and coöperation. He thus entered upon his sixteen years' service at the College.

His first year was uneventful—some repairs of the college wall, that seemed to be ever tumbling down, and the estab-



PRESIDENT JAMES ANDREW McCAULEY, 1872-1888

lishment of a rather good reading-room were the outer signs of progress. Two new Conferences, the Central Pennsylvania and New Jersey, set off from the original two, asked that arrangements be made for closer organic relations between the College and themselves; and Dr. McCauley presented the request to the Board in 1873, with the suggestion of charter changes whereby each of the five Conferences might name one clerical and one lay representative on the Board. This would have marred the previously absolute freedom of the College from legal denominational control, and the Board found another way to satisfy the Conferences. This they did by inviting the two or more conference visitors, sent annually by each Conference for purpose of inspection and report, to equal share in the deliberations of the Board, but without vote.

The next year, 1873-1874, was pregnant with trouble. On November 10 the faculty minutes record that a communication was received from a committee of three, one from each of the three lower classes, "that they would not hereafter recite in Prof. Trickett's recitation room." The same minutes record that the "President stated that he made some remarks to the classes in the Chapel at Professor Trickett's request. It was thought best, in view of the possible good effect of the President's speech to the students, that no action in the case should be taken at present." Their delay seems to have been wise, as no further mention of the matter appears in the faculty records, and the examination scheme, posted shortly after, has Professor Trickett listed to examine each of the objecting classes.

In the absence of official records, students who shared in the event say that their objections to Trickett were his excessive demands for work and his austere manner of treating them. They refused to attend Trickett's classes for about two weeks, being then granted a day for consideration of the matter following some concessions by Trickett. By a bare majority they voted to return to their work with Trickett.

In June following this trouble the President reported the matter to the Board as follows:

It is due to the truth as well as to that candor which you have a right to expect of me that I report the second year of my administration now closing as having been far less free from irregularities and friction than the first. We had been in session less than two months when a serious disturbance arose. The junior, sophomore and freshman classes notified me through a joint committee of the classes that they would "no longer attend recitations" in one department in the College. This combination embraced more than three-fourths of the students in College and among them many of the more mature in years and excellent in general character connected with the Institution. It was extremely difficult to manage. After earnest and prayerful effort continued through several days, the classes were induced to recede from their position and return to recitation. I will not burden my report with details of its management. Should the Board desire it, I will present either to them or to such committee as they may designate, a full statement of the history of the difficulty and of its adjustment. I have not, however, felt at liberty to omit allusion to it, because of its effect on the deportment of the year. Although the difficulty was managed in a way that appeared to me to avoid disaster to the College or injustice to students who had always been industrious and orderly, I yet did not hide from myself the fact that the mode of settlement adopted, that of conciliation and compromise, had in it the peril of impairing authority and fostering insubordination. Concession to those openly arrayed against authority must always be attended with this risk. As the least of the evils confronting me, however, I could but take this risk. Injurious effect apprehended as possible, has in measure, been experienced. Beside the fretting and exasperation incident to the trouble and which affected all connected with the College, the tendency has been in many ways to mar the pleasure of the year and to render its operations less harmonious and successful than they would otherwise have been.

Bishop Levi Scott moved that a committee of five members inquire into the disciplinary difficulties alluded to in the President's report. They were appointed, and Bishop Scott added as a sixth. At the next morning session of the Board, the following day, they reported:

Whereas harmonious coöperation in the Faculty is essential to the success of the College, and whereas we regret to find that such coöperation does not exist in the Faculty at present, and

Whereas the Board confide fully in the scholarship, discretion and purpose of Dr. McCauley, our worthy President and Principal of the College, therefore,

Resolved, That we the Board of Trustees do now and hereby declare the places of the several Professors vacant, and appoint a committee of three, of which committee Dr. McCauley shall be chairman, to nominate persons to fill the chairs.

Dr. McCauley requested that he be included in the resolution of removal, and that he be excused from presiding over the Board during the discussion of the subject, but a motion to grant this request was laid on the table. The first part of the resolution offered by the committee was then adopted, declaring "the places of the several Professors vacant"; and the committee which had made the original report on the subject, with the President of the College added, was directed to consider the filling of the Faculty. This committee withdrew and "returned with the following recommendations for the Faculty; Professor of Law, Judge Graham; Professor of Natural Science, Dr. C. F. Himes; Professor of Ancient Languages, Dr. H. M. Harman; Professor of English Literature, Rev. Aaron Rittenhouse; Professor of Mathematics, W. R. Fisher; Professor of Modern Languages, not prepared to report." The first four nominated were elected, but "the name of Mr. Fisher being before the Board for the chair of mathematics, General Rusling moved to amend by substituting the name of Rev. Joshua Lippincott therefor; Brother Mitchell nominated Rev. C. J. Little; Brother Shakespeare nominated W. A. Reynolds." This introduced confusion, and the matter was referred back to the committee which later nominated W. R. Fisher for Professor of Modern Languages and Joshua A. Lippincott for Professor of Mathematics.

A motion to substitute the name of Trickett, the incumbent and apparent cause of the trouble, for that of W. R. Fisher was lost, and W. R. Fisher was elected Professor of Modern Languages. While this was being discussed, a petition of college students for the retention of Trickett was

presented. A similar effort to elect Prof. S. B. Hillman, the old incumbent, to succeed himself as Professor of Mathematics instead of Joshua A. Lippincott came near to success. While this was being discussed, a newly elected trustee, John Wilson, of Wilmington, appeared and took his seat, and apparently his vote was needed. He was favorable to change in the Faculty, and the vote to substitute the name of Hillman for that of Lippincott was lost by a tie vote, 13 to 13; and the motion to adopt the report of the committee and elect J. A. Lippincott Professor of Mathematics was adopted. It was later claimed by Hillman's friends that Wilson had no right to vote, that he was a clergyman, and that his presence made more clergymen in the Board than the charter of the College allowed. Their contention later appeared in the courts of the county.

After these elections it was "Resolved, That the Board of Trustees cannot part with Professors Hillman, Stayman, and Trickett, without an expression of their high appreciation of the ability, culture and Christian character of these gentlemen, and of their best wishes for their future success."

Two of the three men thus dismissed were the men of longest service in the Faculty, Hillman since 1860, Stayman since 1861. Hillman had served the College well, apparently, in many capacities—Professor, Treasurer, Secretary of the Board of Trustees, and on Johnson's death, President *pro tem*. He seems to have been a many-sided man of affairs, as well as the regulation college teacher. It is barely possible that his many services to the College had led him to assume leadership not acceptable to the new President. Stayman was apparently a man of the study, given to scholarly things, a lover of literature and possibly of his ease—probably not very closely attentive to his college work, but much admired for his knowledge of English literature by the more appreciative students. That he may have been a little lacking in his attention to his college work is inferred only from the fact that when charges had to be brought against him later, it was alleged that he absented himself often and for con-

siderable periods from his work. Trickett was the youngest of the three, and the second man to come to the Faculty after graduate study abroad. Those who knew him well in later years, though they admired and even loved him, would probably agree that he was likely to be decided in his views. His comparative youth and recent coming into the Faculty would not lead him to concede anything to the older men with whom he was associated, or to his official chief, who possibly seemed to him without needed educational experience. The faculty minutes of the period show that he was often absent from faculty meetings, and once at least was alone in opposition to faculty action.

These men were all in the prime of life—Hillman 49 years of age; Stayman, 52; Trickett, 34; and it seems never to have been clearly known why they were removed. Their friends alleged that the President engineered their removal by secret arrangements beforehand, but that does not explain why he should wish to be rid of them, unless, possibly, they failed to coöperate with him in his work, as was freely charged by the President's friends. The President claimed that the trustees, starting from the unfortunate Trickett rebellion, proceeded to lengths he had never even considered. Students at the time of the removals never clearly understood their cause, and many of these same students remained good friends of both the President of the College and the men he is charged with having wronged. The time is too distant and the facts too vague to attempt any demonstrable conclusion as to whether the blame lay with the President, the Professors, or the trustees.

The three men were to be succeeded by Rittenhouse, Fisher, and Lippincott, but Rittenhouse declined, and Charles J. Little later accepted the position. These men all entered upon their duties in September following. In the meantime, however, Trickett had employed legal counsel and had become a student of the law himself. He served due notice on the President of the College that he had not been legally removed, and that he was ready to perform the

duties of his office. He called on his successor, Fisher, by *quo warranto*, "to show cause, &c.," and thus the second act was on the stage.

When the case was heard, Judge Junkin sustained Trickett's claim that as Professor he had been elected without term, and could be removed only on charges, and with opportunity to answer them. The Court granted Trickett a judgment of restoration, but with an oral statement that execution of a writ of ouster against Fisher would be delayed, so that they might possibly otherwise adjust their differences.

The Executive Committee of the trustees then called a special meeting of the Board for December 9, 1874. This meeting had two sessions, one on the evening of the 9th, the other on the morning of the 10th. At the first meeting the legal status of the case was presented, and at the second it was announced by those who had in the meantime conferred with the deposed Professors that no peaceful settlement was possible. The Board then adjourned to meet January 4, 1875, to try two of the Professors, Trickett and Stayman, as necessitated by decrees of the Court. Hillman and Stayman, encouraged by Trickett's success, had appealed to the Court, and Stayman had been granted the same favorable decision as that secured by Trickett. Hillman's case differed somewhat, as will later appear.

Charges against Trickett and Stayman were prepared and copies sent them later in December, and the Board met on January 4, 1875, to try the two men on the charges furnished. The trustees doubtless expected to make short work of the cases in a brief session, but in this they were disappointed, for they had seven meetings, continuing over three days. On assembling they were served with a preliminary injunction from the local Court against proceeding with their trial, the claim being that the Board was not legally constituted. This injunction was granted by Judge Martin C. Herman, of the Class of 1862, recently elected Judge, and then presiding for his first sessions. The trustees met and adjourned several times, awaiting the Court's final

action on the injunction. At their fifth meeting, at 9 P.M. on the second day of their sessions, they were informed that the preliminary injunction had been dissolved and a permanent one refused, at the cost of the plaintiff. They were then able to proceed with the formal trial of the Professors.

It was then announced that the Professors were "willing to meet the Board in a conciliatory spirit," and a committee of the Board was appointed to confer with them on the subject. The report of this committee made to the sixth session of the Board the next morning was not acceptable. It was decided not to accept the proposals of the Professors, to adjourn for a half hour, and notify the Professors to answer the charges against them at the end of the recess. At the end of the recess, however, the Professors were willing to yield something of their earlier demands, and Bishop Simpson offered the following, which became the basis of the final legal settlement:

(1) Resolved, That we hereby rescind so much of the action of the Board of June 24, 1874, as declares the chairs of Professors Trickett and Stayman to be vacant.

(2) Resolved, That the charges preferred against these Professors for misconduct and breaches of the laws of the College, for the trial of which we are now assembled, have been withdrawn.

(3) Resolved, That the action of the Board of Trustees of June 24, 1874, was, in reference to Professors Trickett and Stayman, designed to promote what we believed to be the best interests of the College, and was not intended to reflect on their character as citizens or professors, and the Board regrets, if they feel injured thereby; that we hereby express our high appreciation of them personally and officially and that we commend them as educators of zeal and ability.

(4) Resolved, That we hereby authorize and direct the Treasurer of the College to pay the salaries of Professors Trickett and Stayman in full to January 1, 1875.

(5) Resolved, That we hereby accept the resignations of Professors Trickett and Stayman respectively to take effect January 1, 1875, and tender them our best wishes for future happiness and usefulness.

(6) Resolved, That we request Professors Fisher and Little to enter a *nolle prosequi* in the writs of error in the cases of *quo warranto* of Trickett *vs.* Fisher, and Stayman *vs.* Little, now pending in the Supreme Court, on condition that the said plaintiffs mark their actions of *quo warranto* settled.

Following this settlement, as the Court had ruled that there were no vacancies in June and as the elections of Professors Fisher and Little might be invalid, the Board reëlected the two men to the places made vacant by the resignations of Trickett and Stayman.

The Board held another meeting on the afternoon of the same day, to consider the case of Professor Hillman. His case had been somewhat different from that of the others. In the original action retiring him the Board seemed disposed to recognize his long, large, and valuable service to the College. They had voted him a bonus of one-fourth year's salary, \$400. This he had accepted at once, and, when his case was brought before the Court, this fact militated against his making the same claim as that made by Trickett and Stayman. His act was construed as accepting his removal. However, the Board took no advantage of the technicality, which perhaps might have left him with only the one-fourth year's salary, and when it was announced that Hillman would accept the same terms as those granted the other two, the Board put him on the same basis with them. They paid him a half year's salary, including, however, the one-fourth year's salary previously voted him; and, as he occupied the West College residence, they charged him for house-rent until the following April.

So the matter seemed closed. But it left divisions. There were sores, some open, but more covered and festering, to break out from time to time through many years. In the Board itself there was division. Attempt had been made to substitute Trickett for Fisher when Trickett was originally removed, and there had been a tie vote for the substitution of Hillman for Lippincott. The alumni also were divided. During the commencement of 1874, when the original removal was voted, they gathered to protest against it, and many of them went home alienated, and held aloof for years. Many of the students, possibly most of them, agreed with these alumni, and, as has been stated, they petitioned the Board to retain Trickett. They would probably have done

the same for "Sammy Hillman" and "Johnny Stayman," of whom they were fond, had they suspected that they were in danger of removal. There was no harmony anywhere. Everything was chaotic.

Two of the removed Professors withdrew from Carlisle, but Trickett remained as a lawyer, a very learned one. He thus became an ever-present witness of what had been done in 1874, nor was he a silent witness. He was a man of great parts, and quiet and retiring though he was, he made many friends, some in high places in the town. One of these was Wilbur F. Sadler, who became trustee of the College in 1878 and Judge in 1884. The stage was gradually set for what seemed to Trickett and his friends his vindication.

The three faculty vacancies were filled by William Righter Fisher, Joshua A. Lippincott, and Charles J. Little. Fisher, of the Class of 1870, had had some experience in teaching and had studied some years in Germany. He stayed at the College only two years, so that it is not clear what he might have been. Lippincott, of the Class of 1858, had held important educational positions and served some pastorates. He was a genial, affable gentleman, not a great scholar, but he grew in capacity with the years. After nine years at Dickinson, he became Chancellor of the University of Kansas. He was a good man and had a splendid influence on the youths under him. Little, the brilliant man of the trio, was an alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania, with graduate study in Germany. His special field was philosophy, and in it he rendered distinguished service both at Dickinson and elsewhere. The students of his time remember him with pleasure always, and some of them say that he was the most stimulating man of their college life. During his stay at the College he served a term as Pennsylvania's State Librarian, and after eleven years went to Syracuse, later to Garrett Biblical Institute at Evanston, Illinois, and after the death of President Henry B. Ridgaway, a Dickinsonian of the Class of 1849, was President of the Institute until his death. He was an outstanding man, not

only in intellect but also in the personal charm which gathered students about him to discuss the problems of their lives.

These three men, with McCauley, Himes, and Harman, made a Faculty of very high average. The new men, however, were not known, and the unfortunate divisions in college circles everywhere militated against student attendance at the College. The class which entered the College in 1874, the time of the upheaval, was the smallest and one of the poorest of its late history. Only nine men graduated four years later. By 1876 the enrolment had fallen to forty-nine, only half the previous number, and someone said the institution was merely "playing at college."

The student problem became serious. The Grammar School, which had been closed in 1869, after ninety-six years of service, was reopened in 1877. Other plans to add students were the admission of students on certificate, adopted in 1876, and the establishment, in 1877, of a Latin Scientific course of only three years of college work, with no Greek required. A Modern Language course of four years, requiring neither Greek nor Latin, was also established. Enrolment soon began to grow, and the new three-year course was promptly changed to one of four years in 1884.

Confidence in the College was gradually restored, and by 1882 there were ninety-seven students, about the normal number. McCauley then gave himself to much-belated repairs and renewals in the college plant. West College, erected in 1804, and East College in 1837, had been patched up a little from time to time, but had never had real overhauling. In 1877, the college chapel in West College, now Memorial Hall, was thoroughly renovated, and when completed was a new and attractive colonial room. In 1882, East and West College were likewise thoroughly renewed from top to bottom, at a cost of \$9,325, most of which McCauley raised by personal solicitation. In 1886-1887, South College, which had always been an eyesore, was encased with brick and adapted to preparatory school uses.

The three old buildings were thus put in better shape than they had been for a generation.

These repairs had been made despite hard financial conditions. The removal of the Professors in 1874 had not only entailed immediate outlay of money for double salaries, but had lessened the student body. In 1877, to get something from tuition, despite the scholarships sold twenty-five years before, college tuition was put at \$6.25 per year. Annual deficits continued, however, until 1879, when the budget balanced again. Though there were accumulated deficits of the previous years, this balanced budget encouraged the Board to add another much-needed man to the Faculty. In 1880 there was again a small deficit of \$400, and the year following, Professor Himes, the Treasurer, emphasized the deficits and the difficulty of carrying them. The trustees thereupon took alarm and voted to reduce salaries of Professors from \$1,600 to \$1,500, but the following day, on the urgent request of the President, rescinded this action and restored the salaries. This restoration was justified; the next year there was a considerable surplus, and they felt able to pay the old salaries. They were beginning to feel financially secure, though in 1879 they learned of the definite loss of \$11,200 of the funds invested in the West twenty years before.

Another forward step of the time secured a more vigorous Board of Trustees. Previously, trustees had been elected practically without term, but in 1879 the charter of the College was so changed as to divide the trustees into four classes, one-fourth to be elected annually for four years, with the privilege of reëlection. This arrangement, still in effect, making it easy to drop inactive or undesirable members of the Board, has greatly increased its efficiency.

In 1881, two years before the centennial year of the College, the trustees began to plan for a centennial drive for the sum of \$150,000. At the centennial commencement in 1883, the President reported one gift of \$30,000, another of \$10,000, and that approximately \$20,000 of the old

western loans, long unproductive, had been recovered. Thus over \$60,000 had been added to the productive funds. The trustees, stimulated by this report, subscribed another \$20,000 in their meeting. Later, at an alumni dinner, the first one probably in the history of the College, much more was subscribed. One of these dinner subscriptions, \$10,000 by James W. Bosler, of the Class of 1854, a citizen of Carlisle, later became the nucleus of the James W. Bosler Memorial Library. The centennial movement thus added greatly to the college resources.

Dr. McCauley left three new buildings on the campus, in addition to his improvements to old buildings. A building for the Scientific Department had been suggested by Dr. Himes in 1878. The following year he reported that Spencer F. Baird, of the Smithsonian Institution, had collaborated with him on plans for such a building. To forward the movement for a Science Building, Himes, the following year, published, at his own expense, his "Sketch of Dickinson College," the only attempt at a history of the College to that date. In 1883 a Science Building, of which Himes had dreamed and for which he had worked, was authorized by the Board, to cost not more than \$25,000. Jacob Tome, a trustee, later assumed the cost of the building, which bears his name. It was ready for use in 1884. At the time of its opening, President McCauley announced that the widow of James W. Bosler, the latter having died within the year, proposed, if his subscription of \$10,000 were canceled, to erect a memorial building, and this resulted in the James W. Bosler Memorial Library. He announced also that an anonymous donor had promised funds for a gymnasium. Both these were promptly built, and were ready for use the following college year, 1885-1886.

An important and far-reaching action of this period was the admission of women to the College on the same terms as men. This was done in 1884. It has been generally thought that women were admitted hastily and without due consideration. The records in the case show, on the contrary,

that it probably had longer time for consideration than almost any other action of the governing authorities of the College, trustees and Faculty alike, and a summary of the records on the subject for eight years may be of interest.

In 1876, on motion of Gen. J. F. Rusling, the trustees ordered that "a committee of three be appointed, of which Col. Wright shall be chairman, to consider the advisability of admitting ladies to the studies of the College, or of making some provision for conferring degrees upon ladies, to report at the next meeting of the Board. Carried." The committee had no meeting, and on request of Col. Wright were discharged in 1877. Col. Wright, however, then offered for himself the following resolution:

The trustees of Dickinson College fully recognizing the increasing appreciation of the value of a college education to the young women of the country, and since from the experience of the institutions of learning where the coeducation of the sexes has been tried for some years, it may be accepted that such coeducation is of advantage intellectually and morally to both sexes, therefore, Resolved, That the President and professors be instructed to receive and admit females on the same terms and conditions as to age and attainment to the several classes in the College, and that they be instructed to make such other regulations as may be required in the premises, and further, That the President be instructed to publish and advertise the same that the action of the trustees may become public.

This resolution was referred to the Faculty "to report upon the general subject at the next annual meeting." They discussed the question of "the admission of ladies" at two meetings, and authorized the President to report to the Board in 1878:

(1) That abstractly the Faculty are favorable to the extension of all purely educational facilities equally with males. (Dr. Harman, no.)

(2) That in the present condition and arrangement of the buildings for the purpose of recitation the question is not an open one, and unless sufficient patronage of that character can be assured, it would be inadvisable to make the necessary changes at present. (Professor Lippincott, no.)

The "arrangement of the buildings" to which reference was made required students to go through the boys' dormi-

tory halls to reach recitation rooms. In President McCauley's report to the Board, he said that women "should be protected in their education from all that might be indelicate," and that under present conditions, "there would be exposures for ladies attending work in the College, such as they ought not to be subjected to." The Board accepted their judgment.

In the summer of 1882, however, both the campus buildings were thoroughly renovated and recitation rooms so changed as to remove the previous objections to the admission of women. Then, in May, 1883, before the annual meeting of the Board, it was "Resolved, That the Faculty recommend to the Board of Trustees that women be admitted to the classes of the College on the same condition as men," Dr. Harman again in the negative. In presenting this action of the Faculty to the Board, the President said, "As this recommendation is in accord with the preponderant sentiment of the time in our own and other countries, and as, if adopted, the Faculty would anticipate advantage to the College from its operation, it is commended to your careful consideration." The faculty recommendation was thus brought before the Board, but in the press of matters of great interest during the celebration of the centennial of the College, it seems to have been overlooked. The following year, however, 1884, on motion of Judge W. F. Sadler, it was "Resolved, That the whole matter as to the admission of females to the college course be left with the Faculty to determine upon cases as they may arise." The Faculty accepted this as authority to accept individual "cases as they may arise." At their next meeting on September 10, 1884, they admitted the first woman to the College, and she graduated in 1887, three years later, the first woman to receive the bachelor degree from the College. Three women graduated the following year, and three again in 1889. None graduated the following year, 1890, but three again in 1891. Seven of these first ten women to graduate married, showing that they had no fixed purpose to depart from the

usual activities of the sex and seek "careers." Twenty-five years later the five classes, 1913 to 1917, registered 102 women, of whom half were soon married.

The almost unanimous sentiment for coeducation on the part of those intimately connected with the College seems surprising. It might be different today, but fifty years ago the movement for the larger freedom of woman was regarded with grave suspicion in many quarters. In this case, however, the only one in apparent opposition at any time was Professor Harman, of the Faculty. All others seemed heartily in its favor.

The faculty changes in McCauley's administration following the removals of 1874 were rather numerous, mostly additions. Fisher resigned in 1876 after two years' service, and there were only five in the Faculty for three years. In 1879, however, Henry Clay Whiting, Ph.D., a graduate of Union College, 1867, was elected Professor of Latin. He resigned in 1899 and died in Carlisle two years later. In 1883 Aaron Rittenhouse, who had declined the election of 1874, accepted the chair of English Literature and History. He was a graduate of Wesleyan University and an eloquent preacher. Lippincott withdrew in 1883 to go to Kansas University as its Chancellor. Fletcher Durell succeeded him, an alumnus and graduate student of Princeton, receiving from the latter the philosophy degree. Durell was a rare man, not only a mathematician, but the kind of man to appeal to college students. During his twelve years at the College, no one, perhaps, had greater influence with the student body than had he. He resigned in 1895 to become Master in Mathematics at Lawrenceville, and issued a widely used series of mathematical textbooks.

Ovando Byron Super of the Class of 1873 became Professor of Modern Languages in 1884. He had studied abroad, received his doctorate at Boston University, and taught at Delaware College and Denver University. He continued with the College twenty-nine years. At the same time with Super, James Henry Morgan became Adjunct Professor of

Greek, to supplement the work of Dr. Harman and to take charge of the College Library so soon to go to the new Bosler Library. He was of the Class of 1878, and was to be with the College in various capacities for forty-four years. The manner of Morgan's election showed one possible cause for trouble to Dr. McCauley in his administration. The election occurred without previous conference with Harman, the head of the department, who learned it, as he later asserted, only from newspapers or from the mouths of others. Courtesy, as well as prudence, would have suggested a conference with Harman before the election, to gain his consent, if possible, or at least to avoid the sense of wrong which he felt at this infringement on his department without his knowledge. There may have been other causes, but this was one to which Harman always pointed as a reason for his estrangement from his official chief and his old-time friend, President McCauley.

William Birkhead Lindsay became Professor of Chemistry in 1885. This happened when the Department of Natural Sciences was divided, and Professor Himes chose the physics. Lindsay was a graduate and Ph.D. of Boston University. In 1911, after twenty-six years of fine service to the College, Lindsay resigned because of ill health. This same year, 1885, Little resigned to accept a chair at Syracuse, his going being a great loss to the College. In 1887 Lyman J. Muchmore became Instructor in Physiology and director of the new gymnasium.

During his term McCauley doubled the number of the Faculty, the value of the college plant, and the productive funds of the College, but his work was all done under the shadow of bitter criticism and relentless opposition. The dragon's teeth sowed in 1874 were always fruitful of troubles. He was always conscious of hostility in some parts of the college circle. For some years, however, it was not strong enough to disturb him greatly, though it doubtless sapped his vigor and prevented his doing the College even greater service than he did. Some incidents suggesting its manner and spirit may be illuminating. In 1881, while planning for



JAMES W. BOSLER MEMORIAL HALL



JACOB TOME SCIENTIFIC BUILDING

the centennial celebration and financial campaign, one of the trustees proposed as one of the centennial aims the securing of a centennial President. In 1885, when McCauley nominated Durell for the chair of Mathematics, Hillman was nominated by one of the trustees. He was one of those removed nine years before, and would have been altogether unacceptable to McCauley. In 1885 a small sum had been taken from one of the funds to make necessary repairs and pay a small balance on the two new buildings, above the amounts given by their donors. An unfriendly chairman of the Finance Committee of the Board in his report said, "It will be for your Board to say whether they will sanction this application of a part of this fund." It was a mere pin-prick, and could have had no other purpose than to embarrass McCauley, for the report was adopted without reference to "sanction." In 1886 a paper was presented to the Board signed by ten people, seven of them citizens of Carlisle and three of them commencement visitors, some alumni and some not, praying that the Board investigate "the persistently asserted statement as to the serious mismanagement and internal dissension in the management of the College." The Board considered this paper as a Committee of the Whole. Nothing vital was revealed, but the gist of their conclusions was, "We regret that there has been any want of harmony in the Faculty, but deem further action inexpedient at the present time." Not a very decisive action, surely!

Such were some of the attacks, but a rare occasion offered in the fall of 1886. Disorders about the College occurred through which several students were dismissed. One of them on his dismissal went to the Treasurer of the College and received part of his term fees already paid, and was going home. Later, however, on advice from a lawyer, he demanded immediate reinstatement without trial, claiming that he had not been guilty as alleged, and that he had been illegally dismissed. He was strongly advised by a mature relative not to proceed with the case, for nothing would come of it to him. He said that he knew better, and the case finally came

to court. The Faculty, through counsel, asked the Judge to invite another to hear the case. He refused, and the trial was before Judge Sadler, with Trickett as the student's counsel.

Quite a number of students had been suspended with the plaintiff student, and college excitement ran high during the trial, which was protracted. The Judge finally gave an opinion that the student had not had fair trial, because he had not been confronted with the witnesses against him; and that, therefore, he might possibly be restored to the College by court order. However, as he had accepted the return of part of his college fee, thus presumptively accepting his dismissal, the Court would hold under advisement the question of his reinstatement. So the case continued to stand, and stands to this day, as no further decision was rendered. This, of course, made appeal to higher courts impossible, as there was no final decision. The case was widely heralded as a defeat for the College, in the metropolitan and denominational papers alike, and was used to discredit President McCauley. At the commencement in 1887, the President's report to the Board deplored the fact that the College had been the victim of its recent experience, and had "suffered through sensational reports and assertions through the press of reigning disorder and suspended recitations, with nothing 'to give them color, nothing to justify them being made.'" The Board heartily commended the conduct of the College for the year, and lauded the character and services of the President.

This seems a strange prelude to what happened the year following. There was no untoward incident in college life during the year, no trouble anywhere, except a steady bombardment in newspapers wherever their columns were open. However, at the following commencement, in 1888, the Board met as a Committee of the Whole in executive session, of whose proceedings there is no record, and the following day McCauley resigned. It was the general impression at the time that he need not have done so, that a majority of the Board would have supported him. However, he had

wearied of the long fight, and ended the matter by his resignation.

This resignation seemed to show the much greater influence of a comparatively small number of militant enemies than that of a larger number of moderate friends. Some of McCauley's friends, on his resignation, were in the ugly mood which had characterized his opponents through the years, and attempted to remove from the Board some of those opponents. Judge R. M. Henderson was nominated for the place of Judge W. F. Sadler on the Board, when the latter was proposed for reelection, but the nomination was laid on the table. The same was attempted with Charles H. Mullin, when his name was presented for reelection, but the proposal was withdrawn. Only a few were so resentful as to propose reprisals against their opponents in the matter. Most of them seemed to think the times called for a new spirit of conciliation and peace.

Resolutions on the withdrawal of people from institutions may mean much or little—generally, perhaps, little—but, on the withdrawal of McCauley, one resolution seems to mean something. It at least made record of a very complimentary truth:

Whereas Rev. J. A. McCauley, D.D., LL.D., has tendered to this Board his resignation as President of Dickinson College, we think it due to him and ourselves in hereby accepting the same to express our judgment in the following resolutions.

(1) We thank God for the success which has marked the labors of Dr. McCauley here during the sixteen years of his incumbency. The value of the college buildings has been more than doubled, and the endowment has risen to more than \$300,000. The moral tone of the Institution has been elevated and the scope of its labor greatly enlarged; and a large number of trained graduates has gone out, who will bear through all their time the impress of his faithful labors.

The administration thus closed was the longest since that of Nisbet, and had more than doubled the material resources of the College, while maintaining and improving academic standards; but it closed with personal defeat for the leader whose cause had greatly prospered.

GEORGE EDWARD REED—1889-1911

GREAT DEVELOPMENT

THE VACANCY on McCauley's resignation raised difficult questions. Himes became Acting President, and not a few hoped that he might continue in the presidency. Some thought that Himes himself was willing, and there was much in his favor. He had served the College long and well, and had shown initiative and driving force. He dreamed of a Scientific Building when it seemed foolish, but had led others to dream with him, and their foolish dreams had been realized. Fresh from his German student life he had become the head of the Department of Natural Sciences when it was little more than a name, and had so reorganized and modernized it that it was possibly the equal of the best in any small college. He was a stimulating teacher, and many of his old students had for him not only kindly feelings but warm affection; and he was probably better acquainted with the general college community than any other living man. As President *ad interim* for nine months, his conduct of the College was satisfactory to the student body. The college paper of January, 1889, in which announcement was made of the election of another as President, said of the last term's work under Himes, "We have had a term's work unsurpassed for years for general excellence and good feeling... the term... (has been) most happy... Mutual confidence breeds love; and where love reigns, trouble and strife flee away." With all these things in his favor, it is not strange that many hoped that he might become President.

Many of those who had opposed McCauley were friendly to Himes and wished him for President. This was probably unfortunate for his candidacy. It naturally arrayed the old friends of McCauley on the other side, and the friends of McCauley were generally opposed to Himes. He had



PRESIDENT GEORGE EDWARD REED, 1889-1911



FACULTY OF PRESIDENT REED'S TIME, 1903-1904

Front Row —Bradford Oliver McIntire, James Henry Morgan, George Edward Reed, William Lambert Gooding, John Frederick Mohler
Second Row—Cornelius William Prettyman, Ovando Byron Super, Mervin Grant Filler, Morris Watson Prince, William Weidman Landis,
Montgomery Porter Sellers, Leon Cushing Prince
Third Row —Charles Pelton Hutchins, Harry Freeman Whiting, Harry Matthew Stephens, Frysinger Evans, William Birkhead Lindsay,
LeRoy McMaster

seemed to them unfriendly to McCauley during his long years of trial, and fraternity brothers of Himes on the Board had steadily opposed McCauley. It became clear, therefore, that the choice of Himes would result in a continuance of the old divisions, and the committee of the Board looking for a new President decided that there must be no good ground for continued division. They looked for unity, and went far afield from all old college associations.

It is interesting to surmise what might have resulted from Himes' election. His *ad interim* administration is suggestive. He acted as President for nine months, and these nine months were successful. He administered well, and no man could have been more considerate or even-handed in the general management of college affairs. He also secured for September, 1888, a large entering class of students, though some of them were indifferently prepared and soon dropped out. Nevertheless, despite the troubles of the time, he had more students in attendance than had been in the College since the Civil War, two years only excepted, and had the largest enrolment in the Preparatory School for thirty years.

Despite the many good reasons for Himes' election, the committee on the presidency chose a stranger, and one from a distance. At a special meeting of the Board in Philadelphia on January 3, 1889, the committee nominated and the Board elected as President, George Edward Reed, S.T.D., of the New York East Conference, a pastor, at the time, in New Haven. He was born in Maine in 1846, graduated from Wesleyan University in 1869, receiving its honorary S.T.D. in 1886. He served some of the strongest churches in his Conference. He was a brilliant pulpiteer and a lovable man. When he came to the College in his 43d year, he was in the zenith of his power, a splendid specimen of physical manhood. He gave the College twenty-two years of a busy, active life, the longest presidency in the history of the College.

Reed delayed his acceptance for a month, wishing, as he said in his letter of acceptance, to learn the attitude of the

Faculty, alumni, and other friends of the College toward even the unanimous action of the Board in his election. The change from eminently successful pastoral work was not easy to make, for he loved the pulpit and platform. However, all questions seemed satisfactorily answered, and he accepted the position in a letter dated February 2, 1889. Two days later he paid his first visit to Carlisle, and though there was but brief notice of his visit, the students arranged for him such a gorgeous reception, from their standpoint, as no previous President had ever received. He came by an evening train and the college body met him with a band and carriages for him and his party. They paraded from the station to Hanover Street, to Louthier, to the college chapel, where there was an address of welcome. Reed made graceful response, and was then introduced to each student by Dr. Himes. The following month he visited the five conferences which support the College, and, on the adjournment of his own, took up his residence and work in Carlisle in April, 1889.

Between Reed's election and his coming to Carlisle there had been an important religious movement in the College. On the Day of Prayer for Colleges, at that time regularly observed in all the church colleges, Bishop Foss preached a remarkable sermon on the religious certainties, one that took fast hold on the student body. Several influential students promptly announced a change in their purposes in life. The influence deepened and broadened till nearly all the students in the College had espoused the Christian life. The fires of zeal kindled in the College spread into the town, and services were held under student auspices in the local Methodist Church, resulting in many accessions to its membership. So the college community to which Reed came in April was much more decidedly Christian than that to which he had been elected in January. His local field was a promising one.

Reed had many things to learn. This was shown by his first official report to the Board, two months after his arrival. He recommended more than could reasonably be

expected to be done during a long administration, and much of it was quietly dropped and never again mentioned. Conditioned on securing funds, he recommended raising of college standards, graduate work leading to the degree of doctor of philosophy, authorization of a school of civil, mechanical and electrical engineering, with the erection of suitable buildings therefor, six new departments of study, and the introduction of steam heat and electric light into the college buildings. All his recommendations were approved by the Board, and he had a clear field for their realization. He had yet to learn, however, the conservatism of his constituency and the difficulty of raising money for colleges. Wisdom came to him through many disappointing experiences. The graduate course which he actually installed soon died a natural death. Two or three took the course and received the doctor's degree, but it was soon clear to him, as it had been to his experienced associates before, that the College was not fitted for such work. His engineering course was never heard of again, and of the many new departments he suggested, he was able to organize only a few. Being mortal, he made mistakes, possibly many, but he made a deep impress on the College, and left it a vastly improved institution. He found a quiet retreat for a few students, and left a College of multiplied activities and interests.

Reed was a lovable man, would do anything for anybody, and his students were always loyal to him. Some of his older associates in the Faculty, however, wished another head and possibly showed too little charity for the early mistakes of a really strong man who was trying to do something. He sensed this, and had an apparent example of it shortly after his coming. There was difficulty with one of the college classes and Reed told them what must be done. This they did not do, and gave as their reason that several members of the Faculty told them that their position was right. Thereupon Reed went before the Faculty, stated the facts in the case, and said that he felt he was absolutely right; that he was going to poll the individual members of the Faculty on

the subject, and if they did not agree that he was right, he would bring the matter before the Board of Trustees, and if they as the final authority did not support him, he would resign and leave. Every member of the Faculty under those circumstances, some possibly under duress, endorsed his action, and so the individual matter was closed. However, Reed felt that there was lack of hearty support on the part of some, and changed a very old custom of the College to meet this condition. From time immemorial the senior Professor had been in charge of the College in the absence of the President. Reed was planning to be absent a great deal, and did not like this old arrangement, as it might leave the College in charge of those not certainly loyal to him. He, therefore, organized in 1892 the system of Deans for the College, practically the same as exists today—four class Deans with a Chairman. In the absence of the President this Chairman would be in charge of the College. Fletcher Durell, Professor of Mathematics, was the first Chairman of Deans, and so became Reed's representative in his absence.

This may have been necessary to secure a loyal administration in his absence, but even his warmest friends in the Faculty were at times unable to support his proposals in discipline. He was naturally a man of tender heart and had been a real preacher of the gospel of mercy, and his tendency to mercy made necessary discipline hard for him. He, therefore, stood alone sometimes in disciplinary matters, and he once threatened to ask the trustees to give him sole authority in discipline. He soon saw, however, that some of those objected to his methods in discipline were his warmest friends, and were at the same time experienced educators; that he had their sympathetic support and the advantage of their large experience; and he never carried the matter any further. He was never resentful at this kindly opposition, for no man was ever more generous in his attitude toward honest opposition. He never bore a grudge. Faculty discussions might be sharp and differences decided, but after-



METZGER COLLEGE FOR WOMEN
Now (1933) being improved



SITE OF DENNY HALL
Here Washington Reviewed His Troops in 1794

ward he seemed to forget that there had been any such thing.

From the first the students believed in Reed. He took decided steps on his coming to the College to improve their living conditions. He thought well-kept surroundings had great influence on students, and he reported, two months after his arrival, that he had removed over two hundred loads of brush and refuse from the campus and buildings. The campus had been a hayfield; the grass was cut just before commencement by a neighboring dairyman. Reed took steps to make it the beautiful lawn now so greatly admired. He soon displaced the wretched little dormitory stoves by a modern steam-heat plant; some sort of lighting system was introduced for the first time in the dormitories; and he secured the first athletic field for student use. Nor were creature comforts the only appeal to the student body. Reed was a winning personality and great orator, and his representation of the College introduced it to a wide public and gave it a standing it had not had for years. Students appreciated the distinction that had come to them through their College.

Though proud of their President, it must be owned that they were quite ready to find fault on occasion for mistakes made, if such there were, but if not, for other things. Students are seldom as generous in their attitude toward the mistakes of their instructors as they expect the latter to be toward their own blunders. No student body can be robbed of its heaven-born right to complain. "The Dickinsonian" of 1895 charged that the Faculty little considered their point of view. Their complaint at that time was that "eight meek victims" had gone home for a hazing case; and also that despite their protests the continuance of Saturday chapel was without good reason! Trifling things, perhaps, but showing that even generally contented and well-disposed students would take their fling at the common enemy. If there were no great issues they would find small ones.

Reed knew, of course, when he came to the College that it was rent with dissension from the troubles of the previous

administration. A weaker man might have hesitated to act through fear of this or that faction. He, however, acted as though he knew nought of factions, and did what seemed right in his own eyes. A striking illustration of this was his reestablishment, in 1890, of the old Law School, then dead for a dozen years, and with Trickett as its Dean. Trickett had led in the fight against McCauley, but Reed felt that the Law School would help the College, and did not hesitate to use Trickett for the purpose, giving the use of Emory Chapel and the name of the College. The results justified his action. Students at once began to throng its halls—17 the first year, 35 another year, and 50 a third. And so it grew until it became one of the large law schools of the East. He made Adjunct Professor Morgan, that same year, Professor of Greek and Political Economy. This, of course, was a smaller matter, as Morgan had played an inconspicuous part at the College, and for only a short time, but as the warm friend of McCauley in his administration, he had antagonized Trickett and McCauley's other foes. Reed's action in this matter also may possibly have been justified by the future. The newly made Professor shortly after became one of the class Deans, later Chairman of the Deans, Dean of the College, and finally its President. These two actions of Reed, however, favoring both Trickett and Morgan, showed that Reed was an independent man, sturdy and upstanding in his own judgment as to what should be done, and with courage to act on his judgment, even though trouble might follow.

The enrolment of the College for many years before Reed came showed that it had been practically forgotten by its constituency. Eighty to ninety students was a good average in the College. Subtract from these the local students who came because the College was near, and it is clear that there were very few from the broad territory of the old Baltimore and Philadelphia Conferences. Reed was a captivating speaker, however, an eloquent preacher and acceptable everywhere, and he proceeded through his eloquence to re-

introduce the College to its old constituency. He reported to the trustees at the first annual meeting that he had been out representing the College every Sunday but two since he had reached Carlisle, and this policy he continued for years. The results of it began to show in enrolment. There were less than 100 students in College when he came, but this had doubled in five years, beyond anything the College had ever hoped for; and before he left the College his entering classes were generally about 130, with 350 in College. There were altogether in attendance in College, Law School, and Preparatory School, nearly 600 students. The average college enrolment became four times the usual number before he had come. The College had been revolutionized.

Increased numbers called for increased accommodations. The students began to complain that they were crowded; and the college administration knew that every room was filled, and that the recitation rooms in the old buildings were needed for dormitories. Reed began to look around for a site for an administration building, which was deemed the pressing need. He was reluctant to use any part of the spacious campus, and finally made approach to members of the old Denny family, once of Carlisle, then of Pittsburgh, to secure their property on the northeast corner of High and West Streets. When approached, they said that the property was not for sale to anybody, nor at any price. They held it as a memorial. Reed answered that he had not come to purchase, but to suggest that if they would release the property to the College, it would erect thereon a Denny memorial. The family agreed, and not only gave the site for the building, but another bit of property they owned in the town as a contribution toward it. Thus the way was cleared in 1893 for a site, but more was needed than a site; there must be money to build. Reed had agreed that a building to cost at least \$25,000 should be dedicated free of debt within three years. It was not until 1895 that he felt safe in proceeding with his building program. In May of that year, the semi-annual meeting of the Bishops of the

Methodist Episcopal Church was held in Carlisle, and the occasion was improved to break ground for the new building. At the following commencement the corner-stone was laid, and the following year, 1896, the building was ready for occupancy, having cost about \$40,000. To meet the conditions that it should be free of debt, \$10,000 had been borrowed, secured by lien on other property of the College.

The site Reed secured for Denny Hall was part of the old Denny holdings, and this corner had been left by the family in much the same condition as it had been in the early days. Fortunately, a good picture of the property was taken before the site was cleared for the new building. The picture shows also at the extreme left the little stone house in which was reared the large Murray family, one of whom was the father of the wife of Professor Himes. The old building of the corner had been put together largely with wooden pegs. The great locust tree was the traditional post of Washington's review of troops for the Whisky Rebellion.

The Preparatory School occupied South College, but it had outgrown the building, so that an addition was made to South College at a cost of \$4,000. It soon needed yet larger quarters, and the present Conway Hall was built. While the latter was going up, however, in March, 1904, the new Denny Hall was burned; it was a complete loss, and not very well insured. This meant the erection of two buildings, Denny and Conway, without sufficient funds for either. In the emergency, Moncure D. Conway secured Reed an interview with Andrew Carnegie, and in view of the disaster which had befallen the College, Mr. Carnegie made a contribution of \$50,000. Reed suggested that the building be given his name, but Mr. Carnegie declined on the ground that he was not the sole donor. Reed diplomatically suggested that he might be, if he wished, and Carnegie added \$13,300 to his original \$50,000, thus covering the entire cost of the Conway building. He then suggested that instead of naming the building for him, it be named for Moncure D.



THE FIRST DENNY HALL



BURNING OF THE FIRST DENNY HALL, MARCH 4, 1904



DENNY HALL—RECITATION ROOMS AND LITERARY SOCIETY HALLS

Conway, whom he called "the College's foremost graduate as a man of letters." Reed offered a compromise proposal, that it be named for Moncure D. Conway, the gift of his friend Andrew Carnegie, and this prevailed. The first Denny Hall cost \$40,000; the second larger one cost \$70,000.

Other additions of Reed's time to the material equipment of the College were a home for the President in 1890; Lloyd Hall for young women, the spacious home of a deceased lawyer, in 1895; an Athletic Field in 1890, replaced by the Herman Bosler Biddle Memorial Athletic Field, the gift of Judge and Mrs. Edward W. Biddle, of Carlisle; and the site of an old mill property, south of South College. So almost by force of the conditions he himself had brought about, Reed became one of the extensive builders of the college history.

This large building program was necessitated by the coming of students in numbers never before dreamed of—an embarrassment of riches. Reed's ability to attract students seemed almost uncanny, and had there been equal capacity for getting money to finance the larger equipment needed, his administration would have been absolutely admirable and unique. He did secure a great deal of money, but by no means enough to meet his needs. Students had to be cared for and instructed; they became a liability, and forced upon the College annual deficits in current accounts, in addition to the borrowings for buildings and equipment. During his first ten years Reed had spent for a steam-heating plant, \$24,000; for toilets in the college buildings, \$1,500; for an addition to South College to accommodate the Preparatory School, \$4,000; for land west of South College, \$4,300; for Lloyd Hall, a woman's dormitory, \$8,000; for Denny Hall, \$40,000; and the President's house, \$14,000—a total of \$95,800. The college debt had grown from \$14,000 when he came, to \$46,000. The endowment had grown a little because of the bequest of Susan Powers Hoffman of \$36,000. The debt had grown out of proportion to endowment. This was the danger-spot of the administration.

The annual deficits, which had been comparatively small at first, grew with the years, becoming as much as \$13,500 in 1902, and estimated at \$10,000 for 1903. Securities the College had held on his coming, of \$30,000, through no fault of his, decreased in value and finally yielded only \$13,500. Even this sum, however, instead of being invested, was turned into the building program, thus lessening the fixed endowment by \$30,000. Borrowing had by this time become almost chronic. In 1900, the deficit was covered by borrowing \$3,600. At the June meeting, in 1903, a loan of \$5,000 was authorized, and the following February another like sum. There followed authorization to borrow additional sums necessary to complete the new Denny Hall, with the proviso that the borrowing should not exceed the unpaid subscriptions for the building. Such subscriptions, however, proved not a very reliable basis for loans. In February, 1905, another loan of \$5,000 was authorized, and so it continued through years, till at the close of his administration there was a floating debt of over \$120,000, with productive endowment of only \$320,000—only a trifle more than it was on his coming to the College, a poorly balanced showing.

During all these years, however, it was manifest to the Board that Reed was doing great work along the lines of his special aptitude, was enlarging the College and introducing it more and more favorably to its public. They passed resolutions occasionally on his "superb work," his "magnificent success," his "industry, zeal and efficiency," and these were all deserved. It is perhaps fair to say that if mistakes were made, they were not his so much as those of the business men of his Board, who ought to have stayed his hands, just as in the case of Collins nearly fifty years before, when he made the unfortunate western loans. As was fairly said by one of his successors, to whom fell the task of liquidating the debts incurred, Reed found the College forgotten by its constituency; he introduced it to them anew in a magnificent way, and it cost him more money than he was able to raise. All in all, his record was a great one.

During his long term of over twenty-two years, Reed saw his original Faculty disappear, with only two exceptions. Rittenhouse returned to the pastorate in 1890, one year after Reed's coming; and Durell, in 1895, left the College after twelve years of service to give the remainder of his active life to secondary school work at Lawrenceville, New Jersey. Reed himself said of Durell that he was "a man of remarkable ability as a teacher and greatly admired for his character as a man." The student attitude toward him was given in "The Dickinsonian," which characterized him on his going as "one of our most popular teachers." Himes and Harman left together in 1896, Whiting in 1899, and Lindsay in 1910. This left only Super and Morgan of his original Faculty to continue with him to the end.

Reed was called on not only to fill the places thus vacated, but to add a number of others made necessary by the growing student body. Bradford O. McIntire, Ph.D., succeeded Rittenhouse in the English Department in 1890; he was a graduate of Wesleyan University and a teacher of experience and skill. He gave more years of service to the College than any other man but one. This record was held by Himes till 1921. He has the further distinction, however, that while he was a good teacher from the first, he grew in favor till the end, and his work was never more acceptable than when he retired in 1929, after thirty-nine years in the College, full of years and honors. He suggested the Library Guild in 1903, and has fostered it through all these years. It has collected in small sums from many alumni; and that "many little make a mickle" has been demonstrated by these gatherings. The Guild fund is now over \$20,000, the income from which is used for the purchase of books only. The young women of the College have recognized McIntire's services by giving his name to one of their literary societies.

Robert W. Rogers, Ph.D., first came to a new chair in Reed's Faculty in 1890, that of English Bible. He was then a young man, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, with training at Oxford and other universities. He was one

of the great teachers of the College, but for only three years. He left in 1893 to go to Drew Theological Seminary, where he lived the life of a brilliant scholar and inspiring teacher. He died in 1930, shortly after seeking rest in retirement.

Harry M. Stephens, Sc.D., of the Class of 1892, was Instructor in Physiology, Hygiene, and Physical Culture, 1892-1895; and Adjunct Professor from 1895-1899. In 1897 his work was confined to Biology, and in 1899 he became Professor of Biology. This position he held till his death in 1921.

In 1893, William K. Dare, valedictorian of the Class of 1883, and Principal of the Preparatory School since 1887, became a member of the Faculty for a service all too short. He had a mind of wonderful analytic power, and was a born teacher. Poor health compelled his retirement in 1897, on leave of absence, which continued for two years. He then resigned in 1899. He lived many years in comparative relief from his asthmatic trouble in his far-off California home, but his going was a great loss to the College. Two men supplied his place in 1897-1898: M. J. Cramer, till January, when he died suddenly, and George A. Wilson, Ph.D., for the remainder of the year. Wilson has since been Professor in Syracuse University.

The second year of Dare's leave of absence, 1898-1899, his work was conducted by William Lambert Gooding, Ph.D., of the Class of 1874. Gooding was chosen as Dare's successor in 1899, and served the College till 1916, when he died, greatly honored and loved.

Harry F. Whiting, A.M., of the Class of 1889, was Instructor in Latin, 1893-1895; Adjunct Professor, 1895-1907; and Professor of Latin and Greek, 1907-1913. He then withdrew from the College to engage in secondary school work.

Montgomery P. Sellers, Litt.D., of the Class of 1893, began his college service at once on graduation and has served as Instructor, Adjunct Professor, Professor, Class Dean, and since 1928, Dean of the College. He has steadily advanced in rank and in the favorable regard of his associates.



CONWAY HALL—FRESHMAN DORMITORY



PSYCHOLOGY BUILDING

In 1895, William W. Landis, Sc.D., of the Class of 1891, succeeded Durell in the Department of Mathematics, and yet continues, making himself felt primarily in his own chosen field, but also in all the cultural life of the College.

One year later, in 1896, Morris W. Prince, S.T.D., came to the College as Professor of History and Political Science, adding later work in English Bible. He rendered distinguished service for fifteen years, retiring in 1911. He lived in Carlisle until his death in December, 1932.

This same year, 1896, John F. Mohler, valedictorian of the college Class of 1887, after taking his doctorate at Johns Hopkins, succeeded Professor Himes in the Department of Physics. Thus began a career of thirty-four years of a great scholar and teacher, and an equally great man. No man during these years taught better or exercised a finer personal influence upon the young people with whom he came in contact. He died in 1930, while yet in active service.

On Prof. Henry C. Whiting's retirement in 1899, he was succeeded by Mervin Grant Filler, Litt.D., valedictorian of the Class of 1893, then teaching in the Preparatory School. He remained with the College thirty-two years, and died as its President, March 28, 1931.

The same year, 1899, C. William Prettyman, Class of 1891, having taken his doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania, became head of the Department of German, when German was separated from the old Modern Language Department, so long conducted by Professor Super. Through all the succeeding trying years, in spite of wars and rumors of wars, he had had a large and flourishing department.

In 1900, Leon C. Prince, Litt.D., of the Class of 1898, became Instructor in Oratory, and Librarian in 1901, in 1902 Adjunct Professor of History and Economics, and in 1907 Professor. In addition to his work as teacher and writer, Prince has given much time and study to public questions, and his interest in these has led him to participation in public political life. He was chosen State Senator from his home district in 1928, and reelected in 1932.

Several men served in turn as Instructors in Physiology, Hygiene, and Physical Culture, work introduced shortly after the erection of the first gymnasium in 1884. Lyman J. Muchmore served 1887-1890; Willard G. Lake, 1890-1892; Henry M. Stephens, 1892-1897; Nathan P. Stauffer, 1897-1900; and Forrest E. Craver, 1900-1905, Ralph F. Hutchins assisting as football coach, 1901-1904. After 1904 the man in charge of this work became Director of Physical Training. Forrest E. Craver was Director of Physical Training, 1904-1905; John W. Williams, 1905-1907; and Joseph A. Pival, 1907-1909. In 1909, Forrest E. Craver returned to the College as Adjunct Professor of Mathematics and Director of Physical Training. He continues in the College as Professor of Physical Education. His services will be more fully treated under the head of Athletics.

Some other faculty appointments of Reed's time were James Evelyn Pilcher, L.H.D., Professor of Economics and Sociology, 1899-1903; LeRoy McMaster, of the Class of 1901, Instructor in Chemistry and Physics, 1901-1904; Fritz Sage Darrow, Ph.D., Adjunct Professor of Greek, 1906-1907; Lucretia Jones McAnney, Dean of Women, and Instructor in Oratory, 1906-1913; Perry B. Rowe, of the Class of 1907, Instructor in Mathematics, 1908-1909; Edwin J. Decevee, Instructor in Music, 1908-1910; George W. Crider, A.M., Professor of Social Problems and Business Administration, 1910-1912, and Benjamin F. Chapelle, Instructor in German, 1910-1911.

Dr. Reed retired in June, 1911, and took up his residence in Harrisburg. The following September, however, he was asked to supply Grace Church in Wilmington, Delaware, for a brief time only, but his old pastoral charm was such that he was asked to become the permanent pastor, and served them for nearly four years. He returned to Harrisburg in 1915, where he spent the remaining fifteen years of his life, and died February 7, 1930, honored and loved by all who knew him. His body lies in the "Old Graveyard."

EUGENE ALLEN NOBLE—1911-1914

THREATENED DISASTER

AT A MID-YEAR meeting of the Board, February 16, 1911, Reed stated his purpose to resign the following June, and a committee was appointed to consider a successor. At the next annual meeting, June 5, 1911, this committee unanimously recommended Eugene Allen Noble, and he was promptly elected. He was a graduate of Wesleyan University, a member of the New York East Conference, had served as head of the Hackettstown School for Women, and, at the time of his election to Dickinson College, was President of Goucher College. Dr. Morgan, Dean of the College, acted as President till the coming of Noble in September.

On Noble's coming to the College the office of President of the College was separated from that of President of the Board of Trustees. The two had been merged in 1834 to cure the handicap under which the early presidents of the



Eugene Allen Noble

College had labored in not being in close touch with the Board and frequently excluded from its councils. This situation no longer existing, the trustees petitioned the court for an amendment to the charter, which was granted February 19, 1912, to the effect that the President of the

College should be a member of the Board, but should not be eligible as its President. Thereupon the Honorable Edward W. Biddle, of the Class of 1870, who had been President Judge of the County Courts, 1895-1905, was elected President of the Board and served with great fidelity and ability until June, 1931, when he tendered his resignation on account of illness. His regrettable death followed on July 4, 1931. Boyd Lee Spahr, of the Class of 1900, was elected in succession to Judge Biddle and now serves the College with high devotion.

Noble came to the College under favorable conditions. There were no factions, such as Reed had to face, and no faculty divisions. His stay was short—only three years—and but little change was made. The college student body declined sharply, and some changes were made in the Faculty. Prof. Super withdrew, after a service of thirty years; Prof. H. F. Whiting, after twenty years, and Prof. Crider, after two years.

Rev. E. H. Kellogg, pastor of one of the Presbyterian churches of the town, taught English Bible, 1911-1912, on the withdrawal of Prof. M. W. Prince in 1911. Arthur B. Jennings became Instructor of Music. Leonard S. Blakey, Ph.D., served as Adjunct Professor of Economics, 1912-1914. Henry D. Learned, A.B., served as Instructor in German, 1912-1913, during the absence of Professor Prettyman for financial service among alumni of the College. George F. Cole became Associate Professor of Romance Languages in 1913, on the withdrawal of Professor Super.

In 1879, George Metzger, of the college Class of 1798, had made testamentary provision for the establishment of a college for the education of young women after his decease. His financial provision for the college, unfortunately, proved inadequate, and in 1913 arrangements were made whereby the use of the college building before used as Metzger College was granted to Dickinson College for the use of its young women; and the net income from the Metzger investment was at the same time granted the College. The

College thus secured a very satisfactory woman's dormitory and some addition to its income. The Dean of Women of the College, L. J. McAnney, withdrew at this time, and Sarah K. Ege, the head of Metzger College, remained in charge of the new dormitory for women.

As stated, conditions were generally favorable on Noble's election, but to this there must be one exception. The college finances were not in good shape, and Noble was not adapted to grapple with these problems. He might have succeeded under more favorable conditions, but while Reed's development of the College materially had been phenomenal, when he left, the relation of endowment to debt was dangerous, the endowment approximating \$320,000, and the debt \$120,000. Financial safety required ability equal to that of Reed to keep up the student body, unless large financial aid was otherwise secured. Any considerable lessening of income meant disaster, and Noble was soon to face this danger, ever present during the three years of his administration. Noble secured no appreciable increase in endowment or funds from outside sources for current expenses, while the student body sharply declined—a full 100 during his tenure. The loss of revenues from tuition and other student charges resulted in an increase of debt from \$120,000 to \$136,000. Even this did not tell the whole story; \$14,000 worth of securities, owned by the College and not ear-marked for endowment, were sold and applied to the use of the current fund. In other words, but for this sale, the debt would have been \$150,000, an increase of \$10,000 per year.

Disaster was imminent, and members of the Faculty, with \$4,500 due on salaries, asked the trustees to consider the probable outcome. The trustees announced that "the borrowing capacity of the College is exhausted." A conference of the Executive Committee of the trustees with the Faculty and President of the College followed—a conference probably without parallel in American college history. The situation was frankly discussed for hours. All angles of the

problem were brought to the light, with the result that a meeting of the Board was called for May 16, 1914, the earliest possible legal date. The call for the meeting stated that conditions were very bad. The form of call had not been ordered by the Executive Committee which issued the call, and it was so stated by the President of the Board, when the Board met. It showed, however, how serious conditions appeared to the man who issued the call, and, perhaps, to all who knew the facts. At the meeting of the Board, thus called, President Noble tendered his resignation, and the resignation was "accepted, to take effect immediately after the close of commencement exercises in June, and in connection with such acceptance of his resignation the Board of Trustees granted a leave of absence from this date, except that it requested him to prepare for and preside at the commencement exercises in June." At the same time the Board voted "That the Dean of the College, Dr. James H. Morgan, be requested to take immediate charge of the campaign to secure students, succeeding the acceptance of Dr. Noble's resignation."

JAMES HENRY MORGAN

1914-1928; 1931-1932; 1933-

RIDES THE STORMS

MORGAN was born in Delaware, in 1857, and graduated from Dickinson in 1878. He taught four years in Pennington and Philadelphia, and then came to Dickinson as Principal of the Preparatory School. In 1884 he became Adjunct Professor of Greek in the College, and in 1890 Professor of Greek. He served as Professor, 1890-1914, as Dean, 1896-1914, and as Acting President, 1914-1915. In 1915, on request of his faculty associates, the trustees chose him President. He served till 1928, and again 1931-1932; and yet again 1933-.

Many difficult problems confronted the new administration, especially student attendance and finances, both accentuated by the World War soon to come. The student enrolment had steadily fallen for three years, and those acquainted with the desperate financial condition of the College reasonably doubted whether it could be saved. One alumnus with a son ready for college frankly told the new President that he hesitated to send his son to a college which might cease to function, and was told that his first duty was to his son, not to the College. The son went elsewhere. However, in September, 1914, there was a student body of 292, an increase of 35 over the previous year. The students were taken into the confidence of the administration, and, in a loyal effort to render all help in their power, took drastic action to abolish hazing from the College. Thus, through the stress of the time, hazing came to an end at Dickinson.

Financial needs might have suggested easy-going methods in the treatment of even indifferent students, but high academic standards were at once enforced, and graduation was refused four members of the incoming Senior class.

Two of them left the College at once; another completed his courses with a later class. This was effective announcement that good academic standards would be maintained at any cost and, though it cost a few students at the time, was of great value. It showed that the College was yet worthy of its best traditions. The second year's enrolment of 351 was an increase of 59 over the previous year, and 94 for the two years. Confidence was restored, and September of the third year showed an enrolment of 384, the largest body of students the College had ever had.

The problem of student attendance, then, seemed to be satisfactorily solved, and it was, except for the hectic years of the World War. On the outbreak of the Civil War, in 1861, the students asked that the College be closed, and their successors of 1917 were equally restless. The Government, however, greatly strengthened the hands of all college authorities in their efforts to steady their young men. On the invitation of Secretary Baker, a memorable conference of college presidents was held in Washington. After full discussion he said in effect to the hundreds of college presidents who anxiously awaited his word, "Go home and tell your students to stay in college and do their college work. They will thus prepare for better work when the Government may really need them." This official word was of great value to the colleges. Soon after this, however, the Government invited picked students to go to officer training camps. A number of the Dickinson student body, largely members of the Senior class, went to Camp Niagara, took their training, and secured their commissions.

The two college years opening in September of 1917 and 1918 were uncertain ones. The number of students declined over 100—to 277—the first year, and the Students' Army Training Corps of the second year is yet as a horrid dream to all college authorities. At best it would have been a trying experience, but the man in command at Dickinson College, the "C.O.," knew nothing of colleges. His appearance was the beginning of many woes. Fortunately, the Corps was of



PRESIDENT JAMES HENRY MORGAN

Adjunct Professor, 1884-1890. Professor, 1890-1914.
Class and College Dean, 1892-1914.
President, 1914-1928; 1931-1932; 1933-



FACULTY OF PRESIDENT MORGAN'S TIME

First Row — Mervin Grant Filler, John Frederick Mohler, Gaylord Hawkins Patterson, James Henry Morgan, Josephine Brunyate Meredith, Sophie Louise de Vilaine, Hazel Jane Bülock, Leon Cushing Prince
Second Row — Clifton Elton Wass, Herbert Wing, Jr., Herbert LeRoy Davis, Milton Walker Eddy, Montgomery Porter Sellers, Lehman Forrest Bower, William Michael Baumgartner, Wilbur Harrington Norcross
Third Row — John Crawford Milton Grimm, Gilbert Malcolm, Ralph Schechter, William Weidman Landis, Bradford Oliver McIntire, Lewis Guy Rohrbaugh, Ernest Albert Vuilleumier

comparatively short duration; it dissolved and vanished away on the signing of the Armistice in November. The College then proceeded to gather up the broken threads and work back toward "normalcy." The momentum of the previous years made this comparatively easy, and the College was soon again on even keel.

The student body continued to grow, and in 1921, with an enrolment of 468, the trustees endorsed plans for a college body of 500, and thereafter there were enrolled somewhat more than 500 in September of each year, so that there might be about 500 at its close. This limitation of enrolment made possible higher standards of admission. Students were before admitted on high-school graduation, but now for a time from only the upper two-thirds of their preparatory school classes, and later from only the upper half thereof. During the last year of this administration every member of the Freshman class, save one, had been in the upper half of some preparatory school class, and that one entered by examination.

The student problem was thus satisfactorily settled in a comparatively short time. The financial difficulties of the College yielded less readily. They were very serious. A rejuvenated student body and worth-while college life was probably necessary before they could yield. There was a debt of \$136,000, and only \$302,000 endowment. The facts were even worse than this. The debt was at 6 per cent, while the endowment yielded only about 5 per cent. It took \$1.20 of endowment to cover \$1 of debt; the debt thus offset \$163,200 of endowment, leaving only \$138,800 net effective endowment. This debt, however, after a year or two, was gradually lessened. The budget for each year was made on the basis of the income of the previous year, and with an increasing student body and correspondingly increased income, a small annual surplus resulted, available to lessen the debt. These payments on the debt improved the credit of the College. Creditors were soon willing to accept 5½ per cent, and as the income from the endowment had been

raised to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, a dollar of the endowment was carrying a like amount of debt. Small savings, perhaps, but it was the day of small things financially, and no advantage was small enough to be ignored.

Nothing succeeds like success, even though small; the friends of the College were heartened and the Central Pennsylvania Conference took steps to help the College. In 1917 it loyally sponsored a joint campaign for the College and its own special school, Williamsport Dickinson Seminary. This campaign resulted in subscriptions of \$125,000 for the College, to be paid in five annual payments, and these were largely paid as they became due.

A trustee summary of conditions in 1919, after five years of Morgan's administration, records that \$70,000 had been paid on debts and \$100,000 added to endowment. Half of this addition to endowment was a single contribution of \$50,000 by the widow of Asbury J. Clarke, of the Class of 1863, late of Wheeling, West Virginia, to establish the Asbury J. Clarke Professorship of Latin. This was the largest single subscription ever made to the endowment of the College by a living donor. The Bosler Library had cost more, and Melville Gambrill, a trustee, left an equal sum to the College on his death in 1926, with double that amount in addition to be available at a later date. Mrs. Clarke's gift, however, was made during her lifetime, and was all added to productive funds.

The student problem had been solved, and now the financial troubles, though even more stubborn, were finally yielding. By 1921 the debt had been paid. This made possible an approach to the General Education Board, more generally known as the Rockefeller Foundation, which never considered a college that was in debt. After careful examination of the College, its finances and standards, that Board promised \$150,000 on condition that \$300,000 additional be raised, and the entire \$450,000 added to the permanent endowment of the College. The offer was accepted by the trustees of the College, and in a vigorous campaign in

1922 much more than the needed amount was pledged, to be paid in five years by semi-annual payments. Before the close of the five-year period, this additional \$450,000 was added to the endowment and safely invested; and at the close of Morgan's administration, in 1928, there was no debt, and the endowment was \$908,357. In addition to this endowment there were bequests from estates, not then settled, which have now, 1933, carried the endowment beyond the million-dollar mark.

In addition to the payment of debts and the increase of endowment, Dr. Morgan made large improvements and additions to the college property. The chapel of forty years ago, on the first floor of West College, was transformed into a beautiful Memorial Hall, in memory of the Dickinsonians of the World War. This was done at a cost of about \$20,000, the gift of Lemuel T. Appold, of the Class of 1882. The ground floor of the same building, long neglected and abandoned as useless, was renewed and restored to college uses, and soon played an important part in the social and religious life of the College. It provides a room for the Christian associations, a room for commuting men, a sanctum for the college weekly paper, and a room fitted for colonial history reading and study. The last-named room resulted from the fertile planning and generous gifts of Mr. Appold to the College. It bears the name of his own college President—the McCauley Room. In these two contributions to the College, Mr. Appold did much more than give two fine rooms; he established an artistic standard to which the college body began to aspire. Students and Faculty alike were doubtless more careful of the esthetic side of their lives after these mute artistic memorials began to speak their eloquent message. All alike have grown more careful to preserve the beauty of campus and buildings.

When Morgan's administration closed the property was all in good condition, and conservatively appraised at upwards of \$1,500,000. Old West, originally valued at \$20,000, had greatly appreciated, as also East of \$9,500, Tome

Scientific of \$25,000, and others. In addition to this property owned by the College, its nine fraternities held property of value approximating \$350,000.

East College had been renovated by McCauley in 1882, but after forty years of student use it was in sorry plight. In 1924 it was thoroughly renewed and modernized at a cost of over \$50,000. Additional properties were bought west of the Athletic Field and east of old South College, the latter to secure a proper site for a new gymnasium. This new gymnasium was authorized by the Board in 1927, and work was promptly begun, over \$90,000 being spent on it during Morgan's last year. These various college betterments, great and small, cost over \$200,000, and no debt was incurred in making any of them. His final year closed with a surplus of \$25,555.53.

Improved financial conditions made possible the increase of faculty salaries, and this probably gave the President his greatest personal satisfaction. The maximum salary promised in 1914 was \$1,700, and so continued through the high-cost years of the World War. This was supplemented a trifle only from year to year by a bonus of \$50 to \$100, as the outcome of each year seemed to warrant. After a time, however, salaries were gradually increased, and in 1927 the trustees voted, on the President's recommendation, that \$3,500 should be the minimum salary for a Professor of some years of service, with a possible maximum of \$4,500 under certain conditions. This was a living salary in Carlisle.

Morgan was the first man for fifty years to become President after devoting his entire previous life to education, and his purposes were always educational. Some things of a financial and material character were accomplished in his time for the College, but to him they were merely means to the end of greater educational efficiency. Even the students came to recognize this, and whether they really believed it or not, began to claim that they were members of a harder working College than some of their acquaintances elsewhere. Likewise, in seeking additions to the Faculty, Morgan always

sought sympathetic teachers, and the office of teacher was magnified in all the life of the College. In the main, the selections of his administration are still efficiently serving the College.

His greatest personal pleasure may have come from his ability to pay his associates a living wage, but his greatest pride in his work was doubtless in the academic standards steadily maintained under all circumstances. No academic advancement was granted any student as a favor, but only for work and achievement. His slogan was to make students industrious and keep them decent; and the character of the college standards was uniformly recognized by all academic standardizing agencies, by all associations of colleges and universities. Other institutions might need to seek recognition, but Dickinson, never; it came unsought. This came by no accident, however, but by careful planning and steadfast administration. Things were being done to make the College deserve it.

The old Grammar School was founded in 1773, and had been continued under college management since 1783 with but short intermissions. This seemed to Morgan poor college policy, and in 1916 he suggested to the Board that it should be discontinued at an early date. He was planning to close it in 1918, but the entrance of the United States into the World War in 1917 hurried this closing, and the old Grammar School, later known as Dickinson Preparatory School, was finally closed in 1917.

For the first century of the college life, one hundred was a large enrolment of students, and the Faculty was proportionately small, three to six in number. Such a small number of teachers could offer little or no elective work, and all students had to take practically all that was offered by the College. In McCauley's time this was slightly changed, and in Reed's time very much changed by the enlargement of both Faculty and the offerings of elective subjects. A separate Department of Latin was established in 1879; and one for Modern Languages in 1884, which latter be-

came two in 1899—Romance Languages and German. In 1886 the Department of Natural Sciences was divided into two, Chemistry and Physics, and a Department of Biology followed in 1900. The greatly increased student body of Morgan's time required a greatly enlarged Faculty, and the opportunity was improved to add to the offerings of the college course. Several new Departments resulted.

These new Departments and the elective courses growing out of them enriched the college course, but students were not always able or willing to elect wisely. Some students, possibly many, were getting no consistent course of study, taking only an unrelated number of subjects to satisfy college requirements. Accordingly a system of majors and minors was adopted under Morgan, requiring a student to concentrate on kindred subjects for a considerable part of the course. Such liberty of election remained as to prove generally satisfactory, and the system is yet in operation.

Standards of admission to College were raised, and more exacting conditions for continuance in College were established. A student falling below a given standard for any year was required to withdraw, and one falling below a somewhat higher standard was placed on probation for the next year. If only the probationary standard was reached a second year, he was required to withdraw, as falling below college requirements. A minimum grade for all work of the course was established for graduation; and some, who under less stringent regulations might have graduated, were advised to go to institutions that were less exacting. Many did so.

The coöperation of fraternities and other college groups was sought to secure better scholarship conditions. To foster this coöperation, lists of the average scholarship for all such groups were made public at the end of each semester of college work. These groups finally became allies in the effort to secure better work of their members. At this time, when this coöperation was manifest in the College, it seemed safe to put the definite college seal of approval upon the good student in a rather unusual way. At the close of the

first semester of each year all "A" grade students of the semester were invited to be the guests of the Faculty and their wives at a dinner at the best hotel in Carlisle, in honor of those Seniors elected to Phi Beta Kappa at the mid-year. This has now become a college tradition, and the privilege of sharing in the "A" dinner is highly prized, the honor being somewhat akin to that of the athletic "D." The college scholar thus came to some sort of equality to the athlete in the eyes of the college community.

Morgan also provided Honor Courses as a practical outlet for the ability of a comparatively small body of students to do much more work than can be required of the average college body. Dickinson was among the first colleges to employ Honor Courses. These courses were opened to students of "B" grade for all their work, with an "A" grade in the major subject in which they proposed to take Honor Courses. In this major group there were required eight semester hours of extra work under the general direction of the head of the Department. As a result of these various stimuli to high-grade work, and this initial approach to graduate study in Honor Courses, it came to pass that a largely increased proportion of the graduates of the College sought additional opportunities in graduate schools to satisfy the intellectual interest aroused.

John Price Durbin, on his retirement from the College in 1845, said there had never been an unpleasant occurrence during his administration in his association with the members of his Faculty. Morgan was probably the second of those who had served any considerable period in the presidency who could say the same. In all his work of redeeming the College financially and improving academic standards, he frequently said that he had enjoyed such uniform and hearty support from all members of the academic staff as made even hard work easy.

President Morgan had not had a vacation of more than a few days for over fourteen years. On his return to Carlisle, in January, 1928, from a business trip for the College, he

suffered a breakdown, and spent a month in the local hospital. He was much improved by his enforced vacation, and carried on his work in the College to the close of the year. Having, however, passed his seventy-first birthday, he thought it wise to retire, and so notified the Board in June, 1928. On request of the Board for time to find a successor, he reluctantly consented to remain one year more, but as the committee appointed to seek this successor soon agreed to recommend Dean Mervin G. Filler of the College, a special meeting of the Board was called at Morgan's request, and Dean Filler was chosen, to assume the duties of the office on August 1, 1928. Morgan's official connection with the College then ceased for the time, a connection which was longer than that of any other man in its history—1882-1928—forty-six years. During his incumbency, he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of Pittsburgh, by Franklin and Marshall College, and by Gettysburg College.

Some of the faculty changes of the administration of Morgan follow. Ruter W. Springer, A.M., LL.M., had charge of the Department of English Bible, 1914-1919, and rendered the College large service in various ways at a trying time. He was succeeded in the Department in 1919 by Henry M. Battenhouse, Ph.D., 1919-1921. William M. Baumgartner, A.M., B.D., followed Battenhouse, 1921-1926, when Chester W. Quimby, A.M., B.D., became Associate Professor, and yet remains in charge of the Department.

On Professor Blakey's withdrawal in 1914, John Scott Cleland, Ph.D., had charge of the Department of Economics and Sociology for one year, and in 1915 came Gaylord H. Patterson, Ph.D. Under Patterson's management the Department has grown so as to require the services of a second man, added in 1929.

The Department of Greek, surrendered by Morgan on becoming President, was conducted largely by Professor Craver, 1914-1915, but in 1915 Herbert Wing, Jr., Ph.D., a graduate of Harvard University and Ph.D. of Wisconsin,



THE ALUMNI GYMNASIUM



Class of 1895



Class of 1900



Class of 1902



Class of 1905



Class of 1908



Class of 1907

CAMPUS GATEWAYS—ERECTED BY CLASSES

was chosen for the Department. He has conducted it with efficiency and has rendered other valuable services of varied character to the general life of the College.

In 1916 Professor Gooding died suddenly, just before the opening of the college year. The services of Wilbur H. Norcross, Ph.D., of the Class of 1907, then finishing his graduate work at Johns Hopkins University, were secured. The Department at the time embraced Philosophy, Psychology and Education. It has since so grown, and such additions have been made to the offerings under the old Department, as to require the full time of four well-trained men. Of these additional men, Prof. Clarence J. Carver, Ph.D., of the Class of 1909, since 1920 has conducted the Department of Education. In 1921, Lewis G. Rohrbaugh, Ph.D., of the Class of 1907, came as Professor of Philosophy and Religious Education, and has a large Department. The third addition to the old and now much-divided Department is Russell I. Thompson, Ph.D., of the Class of 1920. He has served since 1928 as Associate Professor of Psychology and Education.

In 1919, on Miss Ege's retirement, Josephine Brunyate Meredith, A.M., of the Class of 1901, came to the College as Dean of Women, and has since acted in that capacity and as Associate Professor of English. As Dean of Women she has done much to secure good standards for the social life of the College and to avoid the excesses so greatly deplored where such standards are absent. Students have so heartily coöperated with Dean Meredith that it is doubtful whether better social conduct can be found in any college community.

In 1920, Professor Shadinger resigned as Professor of Chemistry, after ten years' service. He was followed by Ernest A. Vuilleumier, Ph.D., first as Associate Professor, later as Professor. Dr. Vuilleumier is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and received his doctorate at the University of Berne. Another well-trained man now assists in his enlarged Department. Herbert L. Davis was Instructor in Chemistry 1921-1925, followed by Horace E. Rogers, 1925-1927, while Davis was on leave of absence to complete

his graduate work. Davis returned in 1927 for one year as Associate Professor in Chemistry. At the close of this year he went to Cornell for research work. For one year, 1928-1929, C. C. Bowman was Chemistry Assistant.

In 1921, Professor Stephens died, after twenty-nine years of college service. Milton W. Eddy, Ph.D., has since been in charge of the Department of Biology, which now requires the service of a trained assistant. Jerry D. Hardy was that assistant 1928-1929.

The Department of Romance Languages had teaching additions from time to time: Melvin H. Kelly, 1915-1920; C. Lafayette Crain, 1916-1917; S. Louise de Vilaine, 1918-1925; Hazel J. Bullock, 1919-1928; Karl E. Shedd, 1921-1922; John C. Grimm, Ph.D., 1922; Edgar Milton Bowman, Ph.D., as head of the Department, 1925-1930; and Mary B. Taintor, 1928. Of these, Professors Grimm and Taintor continue in the Faculty of 1933.

The Department of German, in the temporary absence of Professor Prettyman, 1922-1923, was in charge of Bertha Globisch Gates, A.M. C. Walther Thomas, Ph.D., was added to the Department in 1928.

The following additions were made to the Department of English: William O. Robinson, 1915-1917; Ralph Schecter, 1922; and Paul H. Doney, Ph.D., 1928. Schecter remains not only as an approved teacher of English, but he has greatly enriched the musical life of the whole College, and Professor Doney was advanced by President Filler in 1929 to succeed Professor McIntire, as Professor of English Literature, on the latter's retirement.

Professor Landis, of the Department of Mathematics, gave war service in Italy, 1918-1919, and his work was conducted by Walter R. Warne. Other Instructors have been in the Department—Noah R. Bryan, Ph.D., Charles H. Thomas, 1921-1922, and Frank Ayres, A.M., 1928. Ayres remains with the College in 1933.

Guy C. Brosius, A.B., gave instruction in Public Speaking, 1922-1923, and Benjamin J. Folsom, 1928-1929.

Charles E. Ely came to the College as a detail from the Home Mission Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and, 1920-1924, gave class instruction in Religious Education and did seminar work in Rural Leadership. Since 1925, Mulford Stough, A.M., has been Associate Professor of History.

A full-time Director of the Physical Education of Women was added in 1923, and Ruth A. Walker served 1923-1926, Jeanette R. Packard, 1926-1927, and Frances A. Janney, 1927-1929.

A trained Librarian was first appointed in 1916—Sara Helen Burns of the Class of 1912. Lydia Gooding of the Class of 1910 succeeded her as Librarian and served for eight years. Dorothy Hammond was Librarian 1926-1927. May Morris of the Class of 1909 succeeded her in 1927 and now has two full-time assistants.

On the close of the Preparatory School in 1917, Richard H. MacAndrews, who had served its athletic teams in many ways, was transferred to the College as Instructor in Physical Education, and has rendered valuable service.

Dr. Morgan thus added many more to the Faculty than any man had done before, and nineteen of these remained on his retirement. Of those remaining in 1932, Patterson for Social Science, Wing for Greek, Norcross for Psychology, Carver for Education, Rohrbaugh for Philosophy, Vuilleumier for Chemistry, Eddy for Biology, Doney for English Literature, and Quimby for Bible, are in charge of Departments, and Associate Professor Meredith is Dean of Women.

Following his retirement from active college duties, Morgan traveled some months, mostly in Europe, especially in Greece, but spent a short time in Jerusalem and Cairo. On his return he settled down quietly in the old home occupied by him before he became President, expecting to view from a distance the progress of the College to which he had given so many years. On the death of his successor, however, the trustees called him back in March, 1931. He served again until the following January. Another recall occurred on the resignation of Karl T. Waugh, June 24, 1933.

MERVIN GRANT FILLER—1928-1931

WANING VIGOR

DR. FILLER was born in 1873, at Boiling Springs, five miles from Carlisle, and graduated from the College in 1893 as valedictorian of his class. He taught in the College Preparatory School for six years, and on the retirement of Professor Whiting from the College, in 1899, succeeded him and was Professor of Latin for twenty-nine years, 1899-1928, with occasional leaves for graduate work. He was a brilliant teacher, and even during the years when classical studies were on the decline in most places, his Department was always large and popular, the students electing his work generally being of the best in the College. One of these students, now holding a most responsible position in the graduate school of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, declared at the time of Filler's death that he had taken Filler's work not so much out of interest in Latin, as because of the charm and excellence of its teaching. As a teacher, Filler had few equals, and probably no superiors.

When Morgan became President in 1914, Filler was Class Dean, and Morgan appointed him Dean of the College, and often said that any success he achieved was due in no small degree to the faithful and able service of Dean Filler. He seemed to have infinite capacity for the details of the office, and had clear views as to his possibilities as student adviser. Many boys in trouble for various reasons got from him always wise and helpful counsel; and when discipline was necessary, the subject of it might regret its need, but was always forced to admit its justice. His work as Dean and disciplinarian seemed in no way to lessen the respect, even love, in which he had been previously held by the student body. He was great as a teacher, but no less so as the heart-to-heart adviser of hundreds of students.

Filler became President in August, 1928, and served less than three years. Even when elected he was physically a

stricken man, though nobody knew it, least of all himself; and he served as President while his strength was being gradually undermined. In January, 1931, he was prostrated, and in February went to Atlantic City for what he expected to be a brief rest. He was soon forced to go to the University Hospital, Philadelphia, where he died March 28, 1931. His administration, like that of Emory before him, closed in its early morning, cutting short what might have been a brilliant period for the College. During his tenure he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Ohio Wesleyan and Bucknell.

Though Filler's administration was brief, he left behind him evidences of his fertile brain and strong hand. The Alumni Gymnasium was completed and put into successful operation during his first year. The Athletic Field was enlarged and otherwise improved. Filler completed the collection of portraits of all the Presidents of the college history, and secured other portraits of men associated with the early history of the College. He gathered many other articles of interest to Dickinson into one room in West College, set apart for the purpose, the "Dickinsoniana Room." Conway Hall was renovated and made a fine modern dormitory for Freshmen, and the second floor of Old West was beautifully equipped for college administration. Filler carried out negotiations with the Carnegie Foundation which resulted in a grant of \$2,000 annually for five years for the purchase of books for the college library. He also secured a survey of the College by educational experts during the second year of his administration.

In 1899 the Phi Delta Theta Fraternity was permitted to erect a small stone lodge on the northwest corner of the main campus. When this became too small for the growing fraternity needs during Filler's administration, the College purchased the fraternity house, and it is now the home of the college Department of Psychology. The two stories and basement remodeled and adequately equipped furnish ample accommodations for offices, classrooms, and laboratories.

At the same time the College received the sum of \$50,000 as residuary legatee of the estate of Richard V. C. Watkins, of the Class of 1912. With the approval of his surviving relatives this fund was designated as endowment for the R. V. C. Watkins Professorship of Psychology.

Arthur V. Bishop, Ph.D., became Professor of Latin in 1928, succeeding to Filler's Department. Albert H. Gerberich, Ph.D., of the Class of 1918, was added to the Modern Language Departments in 1928. Paul W. Pritchard, of the Class of 1920, served as Instructor in Physical Education 1928-1930. In 1929 the following faculty additions were made: Wellington A. Parlin, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Physics on the death of Professor Mohler; George R. Stephens, Ph.D., Associate Professor in English; Horace E. Rogers, Ph.D., of the Class of 1924, Associate Professor of Chemistry; Percy W. Griffiths, Associate Professor of Physical Education; Elmer Charles Herber, A.M., Instructor in Biology; E. Winifred Chapman, A.B., Instructor in Physical Education of Women; and Marie D. Martindell, Assistant Librarian. In 1930, Francis Asbury Waterhouse, Ph.D., succeeded Professor Bowman as Professor of French, and Cornelius W. Fink, A.M., became Associate Professor of Economics and Political Science.

When it became clear that Filler was a very sick man, the trustees were called together to give him a protracted vacation, that he might regain his health. Sadly enough, he died the day of this meeting, and the trustees' problem was quite other than they had expected. In the emergency they asked Dr. Morgan to serve temporarily as President as long as might seem necessary under the circumstances, and as might be mutually agreeable. Morgan consented, and this arrangement at once became operative, March 28, 1931, and continued until January 4, 1932.

Filler's body lies in the new Westminster Cemetery, just west of Carlisle.

KARL TINSLEY WAUGH—1932—1933

A BRIEF ADMINISTRATION

ON October 10, 1931, the trustees elected Karl Tinsley Waugh, Ph.D., LL.D., as President of the College. Dr. Waugh had graduated from Ohio Wesleyan

University in 1900 and received his degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Harvard, where he studied psychology under Professor James. Later he was on the faculties of Beloit College, Berea College, and the University of Southern California, being Dean of the College of Letters, Arts, and Sciences in the last-named institution.

Dr. Waugh accepted the election, but other commitments delayed his coming to Carlisle until January 4, 1932. He then assumed his duties as the eighteenth President of the College. Formal inauguration exercises were held on Friday, June 5, 1932, as part of the annual commencement.

The outstanding material event of the eighteen months of Dr. Waugh's administration was the purchase of Mooreland, a 12-acre estate diagonally across High and College streets, southwest of the main campus of the College. President Mason, 1821-1824, owned 5 acres of property, on which he built a residence. In 1829 this home of Mason and some adjacent land came into the possession of Johnston



Karl Tinsley Waugh

Moore of the Class of 1829. On the death of the last member of his family in 1930, negotiations with the heirs finally resulted in the transfer of the property to the College—a generation-old dream and hope of many Dickinsonians. The price paid was \$55,000, of which the Law School paid \$5,000 for 1 acre contiguous to its own campus. Eleven acres thus remain to the College, the only property near the campus not already cut up into building lots.

The property is already serving various college purposes. Its gardens have been appropriated by the college Department of Biology, and other parts are used for athletic purposes. The old residence is now the home of the Assistant to the Superintendent of Grounds and Buildings. It is a great property, held for any needed possible development of the future.

A full student roster greeted Dr. Waugh in September, 1932, on the opening of his first full academic year, but June 24, 1933, he resigned as President, and Dr. Morgan was again elected President, to serve as long as it was mutually satisfactory to him and the Board; and he entered upon his duties at once.



PRESIDENT MERVIN GRANT FILLER
Professor, 1899-1928. President, 1928-1931



TRICKETT HALL OF THE LAW SCHOOL

LAW IN THE COLLEGE

THERE have been two distinct and separate developments of instruction in the law in Carlisle. One was under control of the College, 1834-1882; the other under a separate Board, 1890 to date.

The first of these developments was initiated by Judge John Reed in a letter to the college trustees in 1833. On the proposals of this letter he was elected Professor of Law in Dickinson College, and so remained till his death in 1850.

This Department of Law was vacant for twelve years after the death of Judge Reed, when Judge James Hutchinson Graham became its head, and so continued until his death in 1882. No successor to Judge Graham was ever elected by the College.

Eight years after the death of Judge Graham the Dickinson School of Law was in 1890 chartered by the local courts, with its own Board of Incorporators, and with full charter powers as an independent institution.

The School of Law thus chartered had no legal connection with the College, though college students have always had the privilege of taking some law electives in the School. The name of the School, however, and the fact that the President of the College became its nominal head caused the general belief that it was a department of the College. This anomalous condition was somewhat changed in 1913 by similar actions of the Boards of the College and Law School, making the Law School a department of the College; and the two Boards are yet working out a *modus vivendi* under these new actions.

The Dickinson School of Law, thus chartered in 1890, has had a distinguished career for forty-three years. Many of its graduates occupy posts of professional honor and distinction. Two of its graduates were at one time Justices of the Supreme Court of the State of Pennsylvania, a record probably without parallel.

The friendly relations existing between the two institutions, and the distinguished services the Law School has rendered the legal profession, suggest the incorporation of some history of the latter in the story of the College. However, the limits of a story already possibly too long, forbid this. An additional word must suffice.

William Trickett, LL.D., of the college Class of 1868, was the original Dean and head of the Law School. Under his direction for nearly forty years, it grew to be one of the largest law schools in the country. Better than this, its graduates have maintained a high standard of professional probity and success.

From its revival in 1890 until 1918 the Law School occupied the building originally known as Emory Chapel at the corner of West and Pomfret streets. The School then acquired a site at the northwest corner of College and South streets and erected thereon a handsome and commodious brick colonial building, having the general design of Independence Hall. The building was appropriately named Trickett Hall. The site adjoins Mooreland, recently acquired by the College, and thus ties in the Law School property with the campus.

Walter H. Hitchler, LL.D., Dean of the School since 1931, has more than maintained its high character: he has made it for the first time virtually a graduate School of Law. Two years of college work are required for admission, but practically all students admitted are graduates of colleges.

The outlook for the School is so promising that the temptation to enter on its story is almost irresistible. Necessity, however, forbids.

CONCLUSION

The college story has been merely sketched; limits of space forbid fuller presentation. Summary of the student body of its century and a half must bring the story to an end. (This summary in full detail follows on pages 396 and 397. It indicates, as far as patient inquiry can show, what were the careers of those who were enrolled at Dickinson, to the end of the first Morgan presidency in 1928.)

The enrolment thus detailed shows that the college product has always contributed largely to public service. Those who served in less public station had the same training, probably acquitted themselves with equal fidelity, and did a like part in making their communities better places in which to live. The record seems to justify the terse statement of Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*. Though already quoted, it is here repeated in part:

The record of Dickinson's alumni is remarkable. With Princeton and Bowdoin, Dickinson is the only other American college possessing the distinction of having graduated in arts both a President of the United States and a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The list of other federal judges, of members of state judiciaries, and of governors of states is surprisingly long, while it is doubtful if any educational institution of similar size has furnished to its country as many as nine cabinet officers, ten members of the highest legislative body, and fifty members of the lower house.

It is a fair guess that the unusual character of these college alumni is largely due to the fitness of the men who trained them. The College has always planned to have mature and tried men as its instructors. There has been little use of the inexperienced tutor, and when the comparatively young man has come to the Faculty, it has been to make the College the place of his life work. Few Dickinson College teachers have left the College voluntarily. Most of them have felt, as did Spencer F. Baird in 1850, that no other educational institution could tempt them away.

ADMINISTRATION	No. in class	MINISTRY		EDUCATION			LEGISLATURE			EXECUTIVE			LAW		Medicine	Civil Service	Misc.	State Supt. of Pub. Inst.	Unknown
		Pr.	Bish. and Mod.*	Col.	Col. Pres.	Sch. T. and Prin.	U. S. Sen.	U. S. Rep.	State Sen.	State Rep.	U. S. Pres.	U. S. Cab.	State Gov.	State Cab.					
NISBET (1785-1804)	281	53		3	3	7	4	4	3	5	3	1	1	3	17	8	2	4	151
Grad.....179																			
Non-grad.....102																			
DAVIDSON (1804-1809)	77	14	1	5			1	2	1	3	1		1	9	1	13	5	32	
Grad.....42																			
Non-grad.....35																			
ATWATER (1809-1815)	229	7		4	2	3	4	4	7	10	1		1	8	33	8	7	175	
Grad.....92																			
Non-grad.....137																			
McKNIGHT (1815-1816)	36	7		2	2		1	1						5	2	3	2	23	
Grad.....6																			
Non-grad.....30																			
.....(1817-1821)	45																		
Grad.....0																			
Non-grad.....45																			
MASON (1821-1824)	57	21	1	7	1	5	2	2	2	2	1		1	10	1	5	1	8	
Grad.....45																			
Non-grad.....12																			
NEILL (1824-1828)	168	30	1	9	4	16	5	3	11	1	1		1	8	36	13	28	48	
Grad.....105																			
Non-grad.....63																			
How (1829-1832)	76	6		2	2	2	3	2	2	1	1		1	3	6	12	2	43	
Grad.....11																			
Non-grad.....65																			
.....(1832-1834)	24	4		1	1										5	6	2	2	
Grad.....0																			
Non-grad.....24																			
DURBIN (1834-1845)	367	39	4	14	10	28	4	13	6	13	3	2	6	29	95	17	20	109	
Grad.....169																			
Non-grad.....108																			
EMORY (1845-1848)	144	16		10	6	9	1	3	6	6	2			13	24	7	14	45	
Grad.....61																			
Non-grad.....83																			
PECK (1848-1852)	230	20		16	9	21	3	3	11	1	1		1	25	36	2	28	62	
Grad.....85																			
Non-grad.....145																			

ADMINISTRATION		No. in class	Pr.	Bish. and Mod.*	Col. Prof.	Col. Pres.	Sch. T. and Prim.	U. S. Sen.	U. S. Rep.	State Sen.	State Rep.	U. S. Pres.	U. S. Cab.	State Gov.	State Cap.	Army and Navy	Lawyer	Judge*	Medicine	Civil Ser.	Misc.	State Su. of Pub. I.	Unknown
COLLINS (1852-1860)		475	58	1	31	12	61	4	8	18	77	79	10	40	2	97	155						
Grad. 167																							
Non-grad. 308																							
JOHNSON (1860-1868)		331	44		15	6	32	1	2	6	9	52	6	36	4	93	79						
Grad. 114																							
Non-grad. 217																							
DASHIELL (1868-1872)		153	24		10		16		1	1	4	5	1	11		59	17						
Grad. 92																							
Non-grad. 61																							
McCAULEY (1872-1888)		484	120	1	42	2	79	1	1	3	5	13	88	6	47	147	18						
Grad. 274																							
Non-grad. 210																							
REED (1889-1911)		1649	308	5	65	7	312	3	4	3	20	201	10	70	8	367	10						
Grad. 979																							
Non-grad. 670																							
NOBLE (1911-1914)		579	20		5		52					3	34	6		68	0						
Grad. 208																							
Non-grad. 371																							
MORGAN (1914-1928)		2940	98		26		239					6	110	62	2	200	2						
Grad. 1045																							
Non-grad. 1895																							
TOTAL TO 1928		8345	889	14	264	65	882	11	51	102	1	10	7	17	270	881	93	450	50	1200	5	979	
Grad. 3674																							
Non-grad. 4671																							
FILLER (1928-1931)		959																					
Grad. 351																							
Non-grad. 608																							
MORGAN (1931-1932)		324																					
Grad. 147																							
Non-grad. 177																							
WAUGH (1932-1933)		317																					
Grad. 119																							
Non-grad. 198																							
TOTAL ENROLLMENT		9945																					
Grad. 4291																							
Non-grad. 5654																							

NOTE.—The cross tabulations do not agree in totals. One man may have been listed in two callings, and the classification is not at all complete beginning with Dr. Reed's administration.

Practically none leave the Dickinson Faculty to teach elsewhere, and they become mature and ripen as teachers and scholars in a college atmosphere friendly to culture.

This historic stability of faculty personnel continues to this day. The fifteen full professors of the College in 1933 have had an average service of nineteen years; the twelve associate professors have an average of six years; and the six instructors, an average of eight years. The Faculty as a whole thus averages more than twelve years of service in the College. In the spirit of Kipling's story, "The Ship That Found Herself," this kind of faculty has found itself and works in a common spirit and to a common end. Such a faculty could hardly fail to bring forth a vigorous intellectual progeny, as the record shows that it has done.

Finally, it may be said that in fair and stormy weather alike, some fair, but more of it stormy, the College has held steadily to its first and only love, the liberal arts and cultural studies. Many colleges have turned aside to fads of one kind or another, have said, "Lo, here, and lo, there," bowing to the changing winds of popular clamor; they have offered courses in near-engineering, in commerce and business—easier courses suited to the many who are not fit for the culture of the liberal arts. These are all good courses for their purpose, but Dickinson has steadily maintained that they should not be confused with the old college courses whose aim is culture, and has adhered to its own standards. It has never bowed to commerce. Its continued hold on public esteem shows that many there are who approve such a course; and Dickinson is set to meet the want of many cultured people who, mindful of the springs of their own intellectual life, continue to demand that education exalt the things of the spirit.

APPENDIX

LITERARY SOCIETIES

FEBRUARY 22, 1786, eleven students of the College, with an "earnest desire to improve in Science and Literature," met to organize for the purpose, and by May following they had perfected an organization to be known as the Belles Lettres Literary Society. Three years later ten students united in like manner to form the Union Philosophical Society.

These two societies, almost coexistent with the College, have exercised a profound influence upon the lives of hundreds of individual students. A fire in 1904 destroyed the original Denny Hall, with some valuable records of the life of the College, among these most of the early records of these societies. The first record book of the Belles Lettres Society, however, has been preserved, and is complete for the five years, 1786-1791, lacking only the first few pages covering the period to July, 1786. From these records a fairly satisfactory story of the early doings of the Society may be drawn.

These societies met for a time regularly in various places until 1791, when each was granted the use of Professor Davidson's recitation room on alternate Saturdays. About 1800, the Belles Lettres Society secured the use of the Court House, the other Society presumably continuing to use the recitation room. Shortly after West College was ready for use, probably in 1806, the societies secured individual rooms in the two wings of the new building on the fourth floor. They used these rooms of West College until their removal to Denny Hall in 1896.

Their meetings at first were generally bi-weekly, with longer intervals at the close of college sessions, probably out of respect for the examinations, but finally their regular meetings were held each week, with some additional "occasional" meetings, as they were called.

Place and frequency of meeting, however, were less

important than what they did when they met; and their records make it clear that they were bent on serious business. As already stated, the only very early society records are those of the Belles Lettres Society, and the extracts from early records are from those of that Society.

The work of the Society consisted generally at each meeting of essays by all, on a given subject, or debates in which all members present participated. The decisions on the debates were rendered by vote of all members present. Their programs required both work and thought. Every member present, including generally the chairman for the day, had a serious task to perform. Excuses of members to perform their parts were carefully considered, and the excuses were accepted or the delinquents fined.

The first essay subject on record was "*Aspera via ad virtutem perterit facit multos*"; and the second was like unto it in language, "*Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.*" At another time they wrote on "Freedom of the Will," and again on "Slavery." Many of their subjects for either essay or debate would seem out of date or merely academic to students today, but they were very live questions one hundred and fifty years ago. African slavery still existed in Pennsylvania, and even in Carlisle, and the rights of slavery were subjects of debate. One decision was against slavery, but only "by a majority" of members; another was against it without limiting words; and yet another is recorded: "A majority of the voters appeared in favor of the negative; the remaining minority suspended their votes."

The woman question is always present, but the question for this early Society was quite other than that of today; and they gave woman short shrift. They decided that the husband had "a right to absolute command and control in matrimonial affairs, even though the wife be possessed of most knowledge," and there was no minority in the negative. With equal unanimity they decided "that it is the law of nature that woman should be entirely excluded from civil and ecclesiastical preferments." In spite of these judgments

belittling woman, they decided that love rather than riches should influence men's matrimonial choices.

The Society seemed fairly orthodox according to the Presbyterian theology of their times; a majority decided in favor of the resurrection of "the same body which dies"; but in the negative the question of the salvation of "children who die in infancy before they are capable of distinguishing their right hand from their left, or knowing good and evil." They decided "after a long debate" in favor of the unity of the race, that it was "originally from the same common stock." They discussed both the desirability of an established church in America and the right of the established Church of England to the tithes, and both were decided in the negative. They decided that Europeans had been justified in taking lands from the Indians, but would not be justified in putting the Indians of North America to death "rather than suffer them to rob and murder the inhabitants of the western countries, as they now do."

On questions of education they decided that mathematics were more valuable than classical studies, that classical studies were of more value than other literary pursuits. The question, "Is not the practice of novel reading prejudicial both to the morals and improvement of youth?" was decided in the affirmative. On some of the social questions of the time they took advanced positions, opposing dancing, the theatre, laying wagers, accepting challenges to duels or engaging in them.

Some of their questions might be called moot or speculative. The Society divided on the question, "Whether a hypocrite or openly profane person is most [sic] dangerous to society"; decided that the debauchee is worse than the miser, and that moral character does not become better in proportion as society increases in civilization. The following questions are curious:

John A. Nokes and John A. Stokes had a sheep in partnership, and John A. Nokes in the autumn wanted the sheep to be shorn, but John A. Stokes would by no means suffer it. Then John A. Nokes shore one side

of the sheep. The sheep sometime after was entangled in briars by the wool on the unshorn side and perished with cold by the want of the wool on the shorn side. The question to be debated and determined is which of the two partners, John A. Nokes and John A. Stokes, will be at the loss of the sheep.

John A. Nokes was at loss.

Mr. John Jones had an only child, by name Elizabeth, possessed of an estate of £1,000 per annum. Mr. George Simms, of an equal fortune, paid his address to her. She was then in the 18th year of her age, and knowing the character of Mr. Simms to be dissolute preferred suit of Mr. Payne, although his fortune amounted only to £100 per annum. Mr. Jones, her father, insisted that she should marry Mr. Simms before the expiration of one year. Mr. Payne, knowing the objection of her father, and having an assurance of her attachment to him and detestation of the other man, took her off and married her a few days before her marriage to Mr. Simms was to have taken place. The question is, were Mr. Payne and Miss Jones justified in so doing?

They were!

A father and his son were both tried and condemned to be executed for an offence of which they were innocent, for which reason no executioner could then be found; it was proposed that any one of them who should act as executioner would be acquitted. The father refused, but the son accepted of the terms; the question is whether the son was justifiable in so doing.

Some of these later exercises may seem trivial, even petty, but the character of most of their proceedings gives good reason to believe that they found in the discussion of these subjects fundamental principles on which to base their arguments. Especially may this defense of them be made when their approach to questions of government is considered. These subjects were being discussed here by the boys while their representatives were hammering out on the anvil of conference and compromise the strong framework of government for State and Nation. It is not at all unlikely that these college boys were stimulated in their own discussions by the fact that James Wilson, one of their own college trustees, was so prominent a figure in the great Constitutional Convention in session in Philadelphia. Certainly they

came to grips with many of the serious questions being discussed by their elders!

One of their discussions had to do with the origin of government, whether it was compulsory, and their decision was in the negative. They compared the three types of government—monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy—naturally to the advantage of democracy. Voting in elections in many places was still open and by word of mouth, but these young people discussed its wisdom and decided in favor of the ballot. They discussed trial by jury, and favored it, if arbitration failed. They concluded in favor of capital punishment, but thought punishment should be privately administered, and not in public, as was the case in Carlisle, public executions in the presence of gathered thousands being common at the eastern end of the town. In December, 1787, while the adoption of the Constitution was yet uncertain, the Society discussed the principle of a double-chambered legislature, and decided that it was better than the old single-chambered one. Standing armies seemed to them unnecessary among a free people. They concluded that a legislator should not be bound by the wishes of his constituency against his own judgment. One curious historical remnant is found in their discussion of the relative advantages of the seat of government on the Susquehanna or Pottomack [sic]. They decided in favor of their own Susquehanna, evidently hoped that it might come to Pennsylvania, probably at Wrightsville, as the residents there still claim was possible but for Hamilton's bargain over the site and assumption of state debts.

Much space has been given to this statement of the work done in the literary societies of the early years. It is a pretty safe guess, however, that the work of the young people had much to do with their preparation for the public life in which so large a proportion of them were to play conspicuous parts. In these exercises they had felt and thought and fought their way in strenuous debate over nearly the whole field of the activities of the life out there in the big world. They

had sampled theology, education, literature, science, morals, and government, and one might well wonder how the college course could be better supplemented.

The serious part of the society life has been sketched, but it may be that an attractive part of it was the secret society feature, their having and being something apart from the mass. As early as November 24, 1787, their records show the care with which they proposed to protect their membership. They voted "Mr. John Bays and Mr. Jonathan Walker, having taken their degree and left town, cannot from their situation be expected to be stated members of this Society; but their conduct while with us, we have the pleasure to declare, was such as to merit an honorable testimonial if they require it, and will secure to them a seat and the privileges of membership, if they should think proper occasionally to visit us."

In May, 1789, a committee of the Belles Lettres Society was appointed "to form a device and motto for a seal, and also a diploma to be . . . delivered to such young fellows as merit the approbation of the Society." An early report of the committee was endorsed and "the clerk was desired to have a seal engraved and to seal such diplomas, &c." Two years later at commencement of 1791 they decided to "wear a ribbon to distinguish members of Society." The color of the ribbon was to be blue, later changed to the present red rose. In 1853 they took yet more formal steps, and adopted as their badge a Greek temple with *To Kalon* on a scroll.

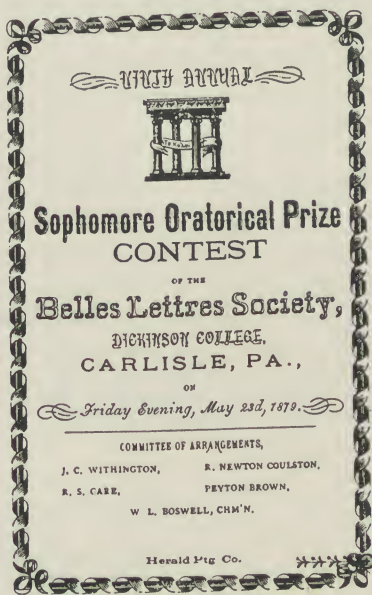


This badge the Society "unanimously pronounced . . . far to exceed that of the Unions." The Union Philosophical Society had thus apparently already adopted its badge, a Maltese cross with a wreath of white roses about the letters "U. P. S."

In later years the chief public display of each Society was its anniversary, including five or six set formal speeches by its members. The most prized society honor was to be anniversary or chief speaker on these occasions.

Diplomas to society graduates kept them in touch with the societies, and these graduates were finally organized into a General Society for each literary Society, composed of graduates and undergraduates, and meeting annually at commencement. Some one of the members made a set speech at this meeting, and they finally invited the trustees to attend for the speech. This custom grew into a stated feature of commencement, when an oration was delivered by some representative of one Society and a poem was read by a representative of the other.

All these features—diplomas, anniversaries, General Societies, and commencement programs—gradually disappeared with the coming of vigorous fraternity life. There were at times fierce rivalries and bitter controversies between the two societies, and at one time one of them was closed as a peace measure. The trouble in this case began with internal strife in the Union Philosophical Society, but became inter-society, because of the charge that the Belles Lettres Society was taking unfair advantage of them in their troubles. They united, however, in several ways, even in the times of general suspicion and strife, in a commencement program, as already told, in the publication of "The Collegian," a college magazine, and in 1872 in the publication of a college monthly paper, "The Dickinsonian," which continues as a weekly, though it is now conducted by the student body instead of by the societies. About 1885 the societies



An old contest program

had come to such good relations as to engage in friendly rivalry in an annual debate. This continued for many years, but was finally displaced by intercollegiate debating.

For nearly a century their work was much the same as that already described for the very early years. It is difficult for the present generation of students to appreciate the meaning of the societies to their members. But they were much more than mere literary societies; they also took the place later taken by fraternities. With the growth of fraternities, interest in literary societies declined, and some doubt whether the fraternity has made good this loss. It is merely an academic question, however; the change has been made and stands, for either good or bad. It may be said, however, that the old societies did a great work, and are even yet serving the smaller number of students connected with them.

Young women were admitted to the College in 1884, and twelve years later organized the Harman Literary Society, taking the name of Henry M. Harman, who had just retired from the College. In 1921 the McIntire Society for young women was established, named for Bradford O. McIntire, who retired from active connection with the College in 1929, after thirty-nine years of service as Professor.

LIBRARIES

A VALUABLE collection of books was one of the first assets of the College. It had a Library even before it had students and began college work. Few of these early books, however, were suited to college students. Rev. Richard Peters, of Philadelphia, in 1783 gave the College 50 books, mostly biblical and classical. Most of the early Library, however, was the gift of Mr. Dickinson, and came from the library of Isaac Norris, father of Mrs. Dickinson. The library of Norris, the well-known patriot, was a famous one in Philadelphia, but had suffered much from the British occupation of the city, 1777-1778. Five years later, however, one of the most valuable gifts to the new College was this contribution of books, variously estimated from 500 to 1,500 in number. The trustees announced in 1786 that the Library contained 2,706 volumes. This was the Library of the College, ready for students when they came.

Few or no books were purchased by the College prior to a state grant in 1803, but it received some gifts. One of these gifts gave rise to amusing passages in letters from Dr. Rush. An English friend had sent twenty volumes of the *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Commons* for the Library, and Rush proposed to sell them and use the proceeds to purchase other books seeming more valuable. He writes that he had purchased the *Britannica*, an "invaluable work in 12 volumes for the use of the College"; and he advised the sale of the twenty volumes of the "*Journal of Ye House of Commons*. These are only such things as a scholar and gentlemen should strive to forget." The proceeds from the sale would pay for the *Britannica*. Apparently the trustees refused to sell the one and buy the other. At least the "*Journal of Ye House of Commons*" is now in the Library, and the ancient edition of the *Britannica* is not. Some suggestion as to the value of the early Library may be gotten from the fact that in 1809 the Board insured their building,

West College, for \$5,000, and the Library and apparatus for \$3,000.

This Library was probably of little service to the college students at any time. Nisbet complained that it was not cared for, that there was no Library service, and that books taken out were not returned. Professor Emory, Librarian fifty years later, making a careful report on the Library, states that it seems never to have been properly catalogued, and that its arrangement of books had been largely dictated by the size, those of like size being arranged side by side. Emory's classification of the books, which follows, would suggest that poor arrangement would make little difference. The books would not be read under any circumstances:

	VOLUMES
Theology	720
Medicine & Chemistry	385
Mathematics	103
Law, Politics, &c.	578
Ancient Classics, Translations, &c.	191
Poetry and Drama	93
Mental Philosophy, Political Economy, &c.	130
Dictionaries, Grammar, Education	171
History, Biography, Travel	220
Essays & miscellaneous	472
	3,063

The case against the usefulness of the Library is strengthened by two other classifications made by Emory. Of the books on medicine, 35 were printed in the sixteenth century, 244 in the seventeenth, 53 in the eighteenth, and only 4 in the nineteenth. Again, 305 of them were in the Latin language, 34 in French, and only 11 in English. He adds after these two classifications: "This will give a very fair view of the whole Library, unless we may except the departments of poetry, mental philosophy and history, in which there is a greater proportion of modern and English works."

Such was the college Library not only for the fifty years before Emory's report in 1837, but for another fifty years

thereafter, even till the erection of Bosler Hall. The college Library had a name to live, but was dead, though students were required to pay the "library fee" for its use. For many years under these conditions a trusted student of the College acted as Librarian for a small consideration, and spent one solitary hour each week in the Library. It was solitary in two ways, for he was seldom disturbed by any troublesome or inquiring visitor.

It must not be inferred from this that students had no library facilities, for they had early sensed their need for books not furnished by the College, and made provision to meet it. In 1791 both the literary societies began to gather books for the use of their own members. They sought gifts of books or money from their graduate members and other friends.

The first formal action of the Belles Lettres Society to this end has been preserved. It was taken November 7, 1791:

Resolved, that whereas the Library of Dickinson College is but indifferently supplied with books suited to the exercise and improvement of the Belles Lettres Society, and as we apprehend there are sundry gentlemen who were once stated members of this society, and are such as will be generally disposed to contribute toward the procuring a library for the sole and exclusive use of the said Society. Therefore, a library as soon as possible shall be founded and a Treasurer appointed for the receipt of such books or moneys as may be appropriated to its use. . . .

The libraries of the societies grew very slowly for a time. One page catalogued all the books of the Belles Lettres Society in 1810, and a shelf in the corner of their hall accommodated them in 1811; and the Union Philosophical Society had only fourteen books in 1791.

Conditions improved, however, and the two societies soon had such collections of books as made college trustee action necessary for their protection. When the College closed its doors in 1832, the Board placed a committee in charge of the "libraries attached to the Literary Societies of the College, that they may be preserved for the purpose of their original design," to be open for use of the books by

members of the societies "at a certain period or periods each week." When the College passed to another Board of Control in 1833, it was found that some of these books were in private hands and needed to be collected.

These two society libraries were soon given half of the rooms on the third floor of West College, the Belles Lettres as early as 1829, the Union Philosophical probably at the same time. These rooms were just below the society halls on the fourth floor, and by 1850 the libraries had grown to such size as to be crowded in the rooms. The two societies then joined in a request to the trustees to double their library space. This petition of the Union Philosophical Society for enlarged library quarters is preserved, and is given in full because of its historical résumé:

Gentlemen of the Board of Trustees: We have been appointed a committee of the Union Philosophical Society to petition your honorable body for leave to enlarge the library hall of said Society by striking out the partition between the present hall and the adjoining room. The Society has commenced a reform in reference to its expenditures and the money that was wasted upon exhibitions is now entirely appropriated for literary purposes, the best means to accomplish which is the enlargement of their library. Already has this been commenced in the improved state of the Library, and the scientific arrangement of the books. The increased number of volumes bought and especially the large number of volumes presented give evidence of the enthusiasm with which this reform movement was received by its members. The Societies are in a very prosperous condition in regard to funds, and as they desire to appropriate these chiefly to the purpose of adding volumes to their Library, they will deem it an especial favor to the Society and a generous encouragement of the literary taste that is gradually obtaining in this college if you, Gentlemen, will grant the request of your petitioners. The library shelves are already inconveniently crowded with books, new tiers have been added and these too are now crowded. Every available position of the Hall has been appropriated to the shelves and the success of the attempts to reform is entirely dependent upon the granting of the petition for an enlarged Library Hall. This has been deemed necessary for some years past. Under the former administration of the College plans were set on foot on the recommendation of Dr. Emory to build a new library and hall for the Societies. This on account of the expense has been deemed impracticable. The present plans will have all the advantage of convenience and speedy accomplishment and at the same time its expense is little or nothing. If

any it will be far overbalanced by the good resulting to the interests of the students here and the College abroad. Nothing is so indicative of the prosperity of an institution of this kind as large and well regulated Libraries, nothing else can so convey the idea abroad as to the sureness of its foundation and the likelihood of its successful perpetuity. The plans of former Administrations have been deemed impracticable and it is reserved for the present administration to propose a plan which has all the advantages required and none of the great expense and delay that the accomplishment of the propositions of Drs. Durbin and Emory would require. We have said nothing of the effect it would have upon the College itself, the beauty to be gained by such a change, the ornament that large and well aired libraries would be. We leave that, Gentlemen, to your own judgment. If you will favor our libraries with a visit we could have no doubt but that you would be impressed with the advantages consequent upon the granting of our petition and that nothing would be more conducive to ornament and utility than the enlargement of our Library.

We have the honor to be your respectful petitioners

CHAS. ALBRIGHT,
Chairman of the U.P.S. Committee
P. MYERS
C. B. LORE
THEO. M. CARSON
W. B. MCGILVRAY

This petition of the Society was reinforced by action of the General Society taken at commencement in 1850. The request was granted, and for thirty-five years they occupied the rooms in the north wings of West College on the third floor. They then removed to the new Bosler Library, each having about 10,000 volumes, showing that each had averaged an addition of more than one hundred volumes per year during the something less than a century of their life. The societies had for many years taken their libraries seriously, and had contributed generously for their support, a good part of their total society fees being used for the purchase of books.

The three libraries, that of the College and those of the two societies, were transferred to the new Bosler Hall Library building in 1886, and for a time continued their separate management, but this was soon found a poor policy and they were shortly thereafter merged into a single unit,

managed by the College. Members of the societies of today are generally unaware of the fact that their societies once owned and managed any part of the now common Library. The older alumni, however, recall that twice each week, on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, the society libraries were open to them to return or secure books. Soon after 1886, Library administration was taken over by the College, and a member of the college Faculty became Librarian. Adjunct Professor J. H. Morgan, with student assistants, had charge at first, and the Library was opened for only a short time each day. Prof. Leon C. Prince followed Morgan. This arrangement continued for thirty years, till in 1916 Helen Burns, of the college Class of 1912, a trained librarian, took charge and gave full-time service, assisted by students. Miss Burns married in 1918, and thereafter Lydia M. Gooding of the college Class of 1910 served as Librarian for nine years, leaving for further study in 1927. May Morris, of the college Class of 1909, after years of service in the library of Bryn Mawr College, has since been Librarian. Two trained assistants have been added, one in 1930 and another in 1931, and the Library has of recent years been open during all usual day and evening study hours.

The literary societies, prior to 1886, bought almost all the books added to the available library resources of the College. The merging of their libraries with that of the College, however, probably lessened somewhat their active interest in the collection of books. Possibly, also, the growth of fraternities and fraternity interests may have lessened student interest in their old literary societies and their libraries. Whatever the cause, it came to pass that the long-continued stream of books which had enriched the two society libraries soon became a mere trickle, and then dried up altogether.

During its first century the College had spent practically nothing on its Library, with one solitary exception. When President Durbin visited Europe in 1843, a loan of \$1,000 was secured from the two patronizing Conferences

for the purchase of books and apparatus. His purchases, however, were largely for the use of scholars, books technical and in foreign languages, so that the one exception is apparent rather than real, so far as student supply is concerned. With the gradual withdrawal of the societies from the purchase of books, the College assumed its own responsibilities in the matter; and, though always pressed for funds, began to make appropriations for Library purposes. These appropriations, small at first, steadily grew till they reached respectable proportions. The Library Guild, established on the suggestion of Professor McIntire and fostered by him through the years, has not only furnished a very respectable annual contribution for the purpose, now more than \$1,000, but has been an eloquent though silent witness to the needs of the case. To this the College has responded with steadily increasing appropriations.

Present Library conditions are by no means ideal, but they are respectable, and the organization has very recently received evidences of approval in high places. The Carnegie Foundation made a careful survey of the Library, and chose it as one of the small number to receive help for five years. This grant of \$2,000 annually, supplementing existing resources, will enable the Library to do relatively great things for the college body for years to come.

The Library contained about 45,000 volumes, 1931-1932, and its annual budget for the purchase of books is about \$4,000.

THE PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY

PHI BETA KAPPA, the original and outstanding Greek letter society of America, was organized at the College of William and Mary in 1776. This original Chapter granted charters to Yale and Harvard shortly thereafter, and for over a hundred years the Society grew as individual chapters granted charters to other colleges, until twenty-five chapters had been established. In September of 1883 there was formed the "National Council of the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa." Since that time charters have been granted only by this National Council.

ALPHA OF PENNSYLVANIA. The first charter granted by this National Council constituted the Alpha Chapter of Pennsylvania at Dickinson College, and occurred September 5, 1886, at the Convention in Saratoga Springs. This Pennsylvania Alpha charter was granted to Lahman F. Bower, Wesleyan, 1879, Aaron Rittenhouse, Wesleyan, 1861, and Henry C. Whiting, Union, 1867, all connected with Dickinson College. These three charter members organized April 13, 1887, with H. C. Whiting as President and L. F. Bower as Secretary, and eight members of the college Faculty were elected to membership.

Phi Beta Kappa was originally a secret society, as are later Greek letter fraternities. It has, however, long since lost this feature, and now places emphasis on the fostering of high scholarship alone, another of its original features. The only secret feature of the Dickinson Chapter has been the election of new members, and this matter of election has been considered most important, as on it depended the scholarship of the Chapter. The chapter history shows a steady movement toward more and more careful selection of its membership, both from the undergraduate student body and other sources.

The Chapter was organized in 1887, and its first standard of eligibility to membership of those about to graduate from

College was that they be in the upper third of their classes. In 1891 the standard was raised requiring that candidates be in the upper fourth, with an additional twelfth of the class eligible from any part of the class. In 1902 it was changed to one-fifth plus one-twentieth; and in 1906 it became one-seventh plus one-forty-second. These additional small fractional parts of classes were added to make possible the election of any clearly outstanding members of classes not meeting the specific academic grade for some good reason. However, this proviso was never used; no student below the upper fraction of the class was ever elected.

It was finally recognized that classes varied greatly in scholastic grade, so that from a poor class members would be elected who were really inferior to some of other classes who failed of election. To meet this real inequality the whole system was changed in 1928, and thereafter only such members of any class were eligible as took general honors, and had a general average grade of 87 per cent on their college work. This rule might, of course, increase the number of eligibles for some high-grade class. It has never yet done so, however, and this means that for poorer classes it has considerably reduced the number of eligibles.

During the early years of the Chapter, all undergraduates were elected at the close of their course. In 1922, however, permission was given to elect at the close of their Senior mid-year one-half the probable candidates from any class. This election was in the hands of the faculty members of the Chapter, as other election of members from graduating classes had been since 1891.

This system of mid-year elections to the Society fitted perfectly into a recently established college custom. For some years the College, the Professors and their wives, had, early in the second semester, entertained at dinner all college students of "A" grade during the first semester. This dinner was embraced as the fitting occasion to honor those Seniors recently elected to Phi Beta Kappa. The invitations to the dinner have, therefore, been issued to all

“A” students to meet and honor them. The new members receive their keys at this dinner. They are thus honored, and they and the others of their class elected at the close of their course are given prominence at commencement. They are all called to the commencement platform and greeted as members of the Society.

As previously stated, for graduates of the College prior to 1887 it was required that candidates should have graduated in the first quarter of their classes. During the early years of the Chapter many of the older Dickinsonians thus became members of the Chapter.

The early rule of the Chapter permitted the election of those of eminence in Literature, Science, or professional attainments. Forty-eight thus became honorary members of the Society. Election of such members, however, has finally become so rare as to be practically negligible.

Pennsylvania Alpha has kept in close touch with the general organization, taking part in all sessions of the National Council of the United Chapters. Its steady aim has been to keep the Society close to its original purpose, the cultivation of literature and scholarship. To this end it has always stood steadily for chapters in only high-grade institutions where Liberal Arts predominated. The Chapter has also cultivated good relations with neighboring chapters, especially with Theta Chapter of Franklin and Marshall College and Iota Chapter of Gettysburg College. In 1926 Alpha Chapter invited these two to a joint dinner meeting in Carlisle, and for six years the Chapters have met in rotation, twice as the guests of each Chapter.

The membership summary is as follows: Charter, 3; Honorary, 48; Alumni, 105; Associate, 7; Undergraduates, 511. Total, 574. Of these members, 124 have died and 450 are living. Of the three charter members of the Alpha Chapter of Pennsylvania, Lahman F. Bower alone survives. He is thus the Senior Phi Beta Kappa of the state. He has long been in close touch with the Chapter and has furnished much of the material for this sketch.

FRATERNITIES

DICKINSON COLLEGE is a fraternity college. Almost four-fifths of its students belong to national fraternity chapters. There is also a healthy local club with fraternity features, and if members of this club are counted, more than four-fifths of the students have fraternity connections.

It was not ever thus. Fraternities were long forbidden by college law, and their early existence was carefully concealed from college authorities. Eighty years ago fraternities were first noticed officially, and action was taken against them. The Zeta Psi fraternity had recently appeared on the campus, and President Peck's last report to the trustees in 1852 asked action against it. His request was in the form of a faculty action: "Resolved, That the Faculty request the Board of Trustees so to amend the statutes, as to provide that no society or association of students shall be allowed to exist, whose constitution, rules and by-laws shall not be approved by the Faculty, and to whose meetings members of the Faculty may not at all times have access." A trustee committee of five—Durbin, McClintock, Allen, Baird, and Smith, all but Smith recent members of the Faculty—considered the matter, but hesitated to report. Both the character of the committee and its hesitation show that the high-powered explosive in the question was recognized. The trustee record says, "The committee reported verbally that in their opinion it was expedient to take some action on the subject." Whereupon the following suggestion of President Allen, of Girard College, was unanimously adopted: "Resolved, that no society or association shall be organized or allowed to exist among the students without the approval of the Faculty first obtained; and no such society or association shall hold its meetings in any other place than such as the Faculty may designate within the college premises."

This might be supposed to have settled the matter, and Peck's successor, Collins, reported in 1853 that in carrying out the instruction of the Board all members of the Zeta Psi had been required, preliminary to reëntering college in 1852, to give a solemn pledge to obey the orders of the Board. Nevertheless, they had violated their pledges, and had held secret meetings for several months. He then continued, "However, circumstances have placed the association wholly in the hands of the Faculty, and the wishes of the Board have now been carried fully into effect, by the surrender of their roll, charter, records, etc., and their destruction in the presence of the Faculty. The members were required also to present the written pledges of all kindred chapters, that they would never by any act of theirs seek to renew or establish any similar association at this place." In addition to this action of June, 1853, all members of Zeta Psi were severely penalized by the Faculty.

This first fraternity to enter the College was thus cast out, root and branch. The faculty minutes of the time show that the Record Book, Initiation Service, Roll Book, By-Laws and Constitution were surrendered for examination by one of the Professors, and all were ignominiously burned.

This funeral pyre ended that one fraternity, but others took its place; and the campaign against them continued for years. Many men yet living remember their own subterfuges, and worse, to circumvent the college authorities on the subject. One of the oldest fraternities now on the campus voted at one time that any man so careless as to subject himself to faculty suspicion of his membership was, as a penalty for that carelessness, expelled from the fraternity, on being questioned by the Faculty. He was, of course, restored to membership on proper amends, but in the meantime he had assured the prying Faculty that he was not a fraternity man!

The question is often raised as to the date of the removal of administrative objection to fraternities and their acceptance as a part of the college life. Legally, all fraternities

are still forbidden. The sweeping trustee action of 1852 has never been repealed. Attempts to enforce this trustee order appeared from time to time for about fifteen years. The attempts, however, grew less and less serious, till finally it came to pass that fraternities were known to exist and were not molested so long as they made no flagrant parade of the fact. The first "Microcosm" was issued 1867-1868, and it contains the names of the members of all existing fraternities. It is clear from this that in 1867 men's stay in College was no longer endangered by fraternity membership.

A curious holdover from the earlier times of fraternity life outside the law was the continued secrecy of even later days. For years after all fear of college penalties ceased, the meeting-places of the fraternities were generally in secluded, out-of-the-way places, and fraternity men went to their meetings by devious and dark alleyways. Fraternities were slow to come into the open.

PHI KAPPA SIGMA. In 1854, the year following the ignominious ejection of the Zeta Psi fraternity from the College, the Epsilon Chapter of this fraternity appeared on the campus. "Appeared" is perhaps a poor word, as it continued its life by not "appearing." The story is told that the fraternity was once discovered, the members all haled before the Faculty, and given one day in which to renounce the fraternity and all its works. At the end of the day they returned and gave the required pledge to abstain from all fraternity participation for the future, and kept their pledge. However, the one day's grace had been well used, for during that time the discovered members had initiated others, and these latter continued the Chapter's life. The Faculty thus failed to destroy the Chapter, but other conditions brought about its cessation in 1876, when its last representative graduated from the College. Its charter was not withdrawn, and in 1895 it again became active by taking over the membership of a strong local organization, the Alpha Zeta Phi.

This fraternity in 1906 built a Chapter house for itself

on South College Street, one-half square from the southwest corner of the college campus. Here the Chapter was housed till 1923, when it purchased a private residence on North College Street, facing the western front of the campus. This later home has been enlarged and remodeled, and is now one of the best fraternity houses of the College.

The Chapter membership 1931-1932 was 41.

PHI KAPPA PSI. The Pennsylvania Zeta Chapter of this fraternity entered the College in 1859, when the continuance of the life of the Chapter and of the college life of its members depended on their ability to keep the whole matter from faculty knowledge. This was done, sometimes, it is to be feared, in devious ways, and the life of the Chapter has continued without interruption.

The fraternity, in 1904, bought a private residence on West High Street, next to the residence of the President of the College, fronting on the south side of the campus. The house has been remodeled and modernized, and is an altogether satisfactory fraternity home for the Chapter. It is now the fraternity house longest in continuous occupancy.

The Chapter membership 1931-1932 was 40.

SIGMA CHI. The Omicron Chapter of this fraternity entered the College in 1859 with the same risks as its two predecessors. It has maintained itself without break through the years.

It has had two fraternity homes. In 1900 it purchased a small private house immediately east of old South College, and erected thereon a neat little fraternity house. This became too small for the growing needs of the Chapter, and was sold to the College. It is now a part of the site of the Alumni Gymnasium. In 1924 the Chapter purchased a fine modern residence on South College Street, one-half block south of the southwest corner of the college campus, which furnishes it a commodious home.

The Chapter membership 1931-1932 was 39.

THETA DELTA CHI. In 1861 this fraternity entered the College and had a fairly vigorous life until 1875, when the

active Chapter lapsed. Five years later, however, the graduate Chapter reestablished the active Chapter, which had a very creditable record for some years, but ceased to function in 1894, when its last members left the College.

CHI PHI. This fraternity entered the College in 1869, the first one to enter in the open, without fear of faculty disturbance. Its charter was withdrawn in 1892.

BETA THETA PI. In 1871 a number of students organized as "Independents," with an anti-fraternity bias. In 1872, President Dashiell, in his last report to the trustees, said that the Independents had their pins and seemed happy. His report said nothing about the law against fraternities of twenty years before, and his tacit acceptance of fraternities might be assumed to be the unofficial acceptance. The Independents, thus organized in 1871, gradually changed their attitude toward fraternities, and in 1874 their organization became the Alpha Sigma Chapter of the Beta Theta Pi fraternity.

In 1906 the Chapter bought a site and erected a house thereon just west of Mooreland, recently added to the college campus. This fraternity building has been remodeled and enlarged to meet the needs of the Chapter's growth. Of buildings erected originally for fraternity purposes, this is the longest in continuous occupation.

The Chapter membership 1931-1932 was 32.

PHI DELTA THETA. The Pennsylvania Epsilon Chapter of this fraternity entered the College in 1880. In 1899 the college trustees permitted it to erect a stone lodge on the northwest corner of the campus. Several other fraternities requested similar campus sites, but the trustees decided that one mistake had been made in granting one site, and refused to be driven by the one precedent to make other mistakes.

The refusal of the College to grant other sites was probably a good thing for the fraternities themselves. The purpose at the time was to build small houses, and these would not have met the needs of the later developments of fraternity life. The Phi Delta Theta fraternity later found itself

cramped in its comparatively small building on the campus, and finally surrendered it to the College on favorable terms. It then built a much larger stone colonial house on North West Street, facing the eastern campus front, which was first occupied September, 1931.

The Chapter membership 1931-1932 was 32.

SIGMA ALPHA EPSILON. The Sigma Phi Chapter of this fraternity was installed at the College in 1890. For years it occupied a large dwelling on West Louther Street, a stone's-throw from the northeast corner of the campus. In 1922 the Chapter purchased the old home of Judge W. F. Sadler, on North College Street, opposite the northwest corner of the campus. Six years later the property was remodeled, and now furnishes a pleasant and commodious fraternity home.

The Chapter membership 1931-1932 was 23.

KAPPA SIGMA. The Beta Pi Chapter of this fraternity entered the College in 1902, and a few years later secured from the College the exclusive use of the fourth or east section of East College. This continued to be its fraternity house till 1932, when, on its thirtieth anniversary the Chapter purchased the spacious dwelling on the northeast corner of Louther and College streets, facing the northwest corner of the campus.

The Chapter membership 1931-1932 was 20.

ALPHA CHI RHO. The Phi Beta Chapter of this fraternity entered the College in 1905, and from 1907 to 1919 occupied rented houses on West Louther Street, opposite the north front of the campus. In 1919 it purchased a dwelling-house on North College Street and has since occupied it. The building has been greatly changed to meet the needs of the Chapter.

The Chapter membership 1931-1932 was 27.

PHI EPSILON PI. The Iota Chapter of this fraternity entered the College in 1914. It used rented houses till 1932, when it took over the fourth or east section of East College, at that time surrendered by the Kappa Sigma fraternity.

The Chapter membership in 1931-1932 was 13.



Phi Delta Theta



Phi Kappa Psi



Beta Theta Pi



Theta Chi



Alpha Chi Rho



DICKINSON FRATERNITY HOUSES



Sigma Alpha Epsilon



Sigma Chi



Phi Kappa Sigma



Kappa Sigma

DICKINSON FRATERNITY HOUSES



THETA CHI. The Pi Chapter of this fraternity was chartered in 1916, growing out of a non-fraternity group of several years' development. For nine years it occupied the first or west section of East College as its fraternity home. In 1925, however, the Chapter purchased a house on West High Street, fronting the south side of the campus. Subsequent remodeling has made this into very comfortable fraternity quarters. It occupies a part of the property purchased by Principal Nisbet over a century and a quarter ago.

The Chapter membership 1931-1932 was 27.

SIGMA TAU PHI. The Epsilon Chapter of this fraternity entered the College in 1926. For a time it occupied houses in the town, but in 1932 it secured the third section of East College as its chapter house.

The Chapter membership 1931-1932 was 21.

THE COMMONS CLUB was founded at Dickinson College in 1924, and has occupied continuously the first or west section of East College. Its membership in 1931-1932 was 27.

WOMEN'S FRATERNITIES. Young women were first admitted to the College in 1884, and the first women's fraternity was organized in 1903, nineteen years later. There are now four such fraternities, but none of them own or rent houses. All young women from a distance live in the college dormitory, and young women in the College have, therefore, no such need for fraternity houses as the young men. The four fraternities have rooms in houses of the town, centers of their fraternity life, and places for meeting.

The **PI BETA PHI** fraternity, Gamma Chapter, entered the College in 1903, and had a membership of 40 in 1931-1932.

The **CHI OMEGA** fraternity, Delta Chapter, entered the College in 1907, and had a membership of 24 in 1931-1932.

The **PHI MU** fraternity, Beta Delta Chapter, entered the College in 1919, and had a membership of 22 in 1931-1932.

The **ZETA TAU ALPHA** fraternity, Beta Beta Chapter, entered the College in 1924, and had a membership of 26 in 1931-1932.

The men's fraternities have organized the Interfraternity Council; and the Women's, the Pan-Hellenic Council. These two Councils secure unity of action on the part of their respective constituents, and have banished many grounds of suspicion existing before their organization; not all, of course!

In general, it may be said that the fraternities in their houses furnish good living conditions for their members, an approach, at least, to something like home conditions.

Summary. Of 409 men in the College, 1931-1932, 315 were members of intercollegiate fraternities and 27 others were members of the Commons Club—342 in all—leaving only 67 not so affiliated. Of 141 women in the College, 1931-1932, 112 were fraternity women, leaving only 29 not so affiliated. There were, then, 454 of the students thus affiliated, and only 96 others unaffiliated.

HONORARY FRATERNITIES

THE RAVEN'S CLAW was organized at Dickinson College in 1896, as an Honorary Senior Fraternity.

THE SKULL AND KEY was organized at Dickinson College in 1909 as an Honorary Junior Fraternity.

THE WHEEL AND CHAIN was organized by the women of Dickinson College in 1924 as an Honorary Senior Fraternity.

THE OMICRON DELTA KAPPA, Upsilon Circle, entered Dickinson in 1927, as a general Honorary Fraternity.

ALPHA SIGMA GAMMA, an Honorary Journalistic Fraternity, entered Dickinson in 1932.

TAU KAPPA ALPHA, an Honorary Debating Fraternity, entered Dickinson in 1915.

TAU DELTA PI, an Honorary Dramatic Fraternity, entered Dickinson in 1922.

DICKINSON PUBLICATIONS

PUBLICATIONS OF THE COLLEGE

GENERAL Catalogues. The first official college publication was a list of trustees, honorary alumni, and graduates of the College. Its exact date is not given. However, it lists those who graduated from the College in September, 1809, and was thus published during the administration of President Atwater, who made his first appearance on the occasion of the graduation of the Class of 1809. It is probable, therefore, that it was issued in 1810. Atwater issued another like catalogue in 1813. A similar catalogue was issued after June, 1833, though it is without date, lacks many things, and has many errors.

These two catalogues of Atwater's time were printed on one side of a single sheet, and gave only the names of graduates in Latin, together with their classes. A copy of this is in the Rush collection in Philadelphia, and the College has a second copy. This form was followed in yet a third general catalogue in the time of President Durbin, as "Catalogus Collegii Dickinsoniensis MDCCCXL." Somewhat similar issues appeared in 1851 and 1864.

In 1886, Joshua A. Lippincott, of the Class of 1858, then Chancellor of the University of Kansas, and Ovando B. Super, of the Class of 1873, then Professor of Modern Languages in the College, jointly prepared an alumni catalogue with much biographical material. This catalogue rescued from oblivion much information which else had been lost.

Professor Super followed this in 1892 by a catalogue of names and addresses of alumni, bringing the previous book up to date.

Its predecessors gave much of its information, but the Alumni Record of 1905 was the most important of the long list of alumni catalogues. It was prepared by George L. Reed, of the Class of 1904, son of the then President of

the College, and in 1933 member of the Pennsylvania Senate from Dauphin County.

This Alumni Record was published by the College. It gives a vast amount of information concerning all graduates and non-graduates of the College to the date of its issue. It gives evidence of great labor in its preparation; but, what is more important, its reputation for accuracy has grown through the twenty-eight years since its issue.

Catalogues of Living Alumni appeared almost annually, 1906 to 1910. The next one appeared in 1925, and another in 1931. These two later ones were issued by the General Alumni Association of the College, their material being prepared by Gilbert Malcolm of the Class of 1915, Treasurer of the College, and now Assistant to the President.

College Catalogues. Dr. Atwater issued the first general catalogue in 1810, and also the first college catalogue in 1811; another followed in 1812. After a long interval, another catalogue was issued by Dr. Mason in 1822; and others by Dr. Neill in 1827 and 1828.

As has been stated, the two catalogues issued by Atwater were on a single sheet. Each was sixteen by twenty-four inches in size, and printed on only one side. Only the faculty and student roster was printed, with college rooms or boarding houses of the students. The catalogues issued by Mason and Neill were in the modern form and of sixteen small pages.

These catalogues are all in the college files, and are the only ones known to have been issued during the first half century of the life of the College. The two of Atwater's issue are framed and hang on the walls of the Dickinsoniana Room in West College; the others are bound with the later catalogues, of which the College has a complete file from 1834.

Lectureship Publication. In 1929 the trustees established the James Henry Morgan Lectureship Foundation in recognition of his services to the College. The following year President Filler arranged on the Lectureship Foundation a series of lectures by Robert Seymour Conway, of Manchester, England. The series was on "Makers of Europe,"

distinguished Roman writers and statesmen, Caesar, Cicero, Horace, and Vergil. This series was deemed especially appropriate for the bi-millennial celebration of the birth of Vergil. These lectures were published by The Harvard University Press, under the auspices of the College.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE STUDENTS

Student publications have naturally been legion in number but mostly ephemeral in character. Only two have reached the dignity of some years, "The Microcosm" and "The Dickinsonian." The others had little or no permanent place in the life of the College, though one of them should be recognized because of its distinguished parentage; another, possibly, because it played some part in the life of alumni yet living.

The Collegian. The publication of distinguished parentage is "The Collegian," and it was probably the first try at journalism on the part of the students of the College. Its date was 1848-1849, and Moncure D. Conway, the noted author and preacher, was its parent.

Conway's son, some years since, sent to the President of the College his father's bound volume of "The Collegian." There was another in the possession of the College. This one, however, had a full account of the conception and birth of "The Collegian," written by Conway and bound with his copy as a sort of foreword.

Even in his student days, Conway seems to have had the itch for writing, and on one occasion when in his room nursing a cold, he planned "The Collegian," or at least planned to get the two literary societies to undertake its publication. He suggested to leading men in the societies that they ought to be engaged in something of the sort; their talents were going to waste. They agreed that such was the case; the thing was put across, and adopted by the two societies—editors were selected, prospectus issued, subscribers sought,

and the magazine ensued. Five numbers only were issued, and the venture closed with the year 1848-1849.

Conway graduated in 1849, but expected "The Collegian" to continue. Those left in charge of it, however, discontinued it. Conway visited the College on its discontinuance, learned the reasons for the suspension, and expressed himself in no uncertain terms on the subject. He thought that his successors had betrayed their trust. "The Collegian," however, was dead beyond hope of resurrection.

The Microcosm. The first student publication of sufficient vitality to have a future was "The Microcosm," issued by the Class of 1868, in its Senior year. Its twenty-eight pages were little more than lists of Faculty, student body, and sundry organizations of the College. The eating clubs listed had an eye to the main purposes of their organization—one had as its motto "*Vivimus ut Edamus,*" and another "*Fruges consumere Nati.*" Three years later, in 1871, there was a second issue, and ten years later, in 1881, a third.

This third issue was put out by the Beta Theta Pi fraternity, and was called "The Minutal." The next year, 1882, the five other fraternities proposed that all fraternities unite in an issue, but the terms on which the Betas would admit the other fraternities were not satisfactory to them. The result was that but one fraternity sponsored another edition of "The Minutal," and the other five fraternities revived "The Microcosm." In 1882, then, there were two yearbooks, "The Minutal" and "The Microcosm."

The issue of the two books under such conditions gave room for unkind criticism, but the books were quite free from anything of the sort. However, the issue of the five fraternities fairly questions the claim of "The Minutal" of 1881 to be the first yearbook. Evidently, the editors of "The Minutal" of 1881 had lost sight of the two previous issues of "The Microcosm," 1868 and 1871. There is also a cartoon ridiculing the Boat Club of the Betas and their boat on the Conodoguinet. The latter, perhaps, suggests a bit of envy.

These two issues of 1882, for a College numbering only eighty-five students, seem to have exhausted the resources of the College for such purposes. No yearbook appeared for eight years, but in 1890 the Junior Class issued another "Microcosm." Since that time, for over forty-four years, "The Microcosm" has appeared, generally issued by the Junior Class. In 1893, however, on the failure of a class issue, five of the fraternities issued the book; and the Classes of 1919 and 1920 issued one book jointly, because of conditions incident to the World War.

"The Microcosm" of the early years has only the name in common with that of today, an imposing book of nearly three hundred pages. It has not only grown in size, but is now a fine example of the printer's and illustrator's art. The successive numbers give a moving picture of the history of the College and of the various men and women of the college body.

The Dickinsonian. The outstanding student publication is "The Dickinsonian," first appearing in 1872, and issued by the two literary societies as a monthly, eight-page paper. It was devoted almost exclusively to literary articles, furnished largely by members of the Faculty, alumni, and some few others. The students contributed the editorials and some trifling college news.

An illustration of the absence of college news is the fact that during the faculty troubles of 1874-1875, when the College was in the local courts defending itself against Professors lately removed by the trustees, there is only bare mention of the doings in court or College. However, the paper gradually changed in this respect and became a more effective chronicle of college doings, rather than an attempt at literary expression. It is now almost entirely a news-sheet.

This absence of any literary organ was not acceptable to the College, and the two literary societies added "The Dickinson Literary Monthly." It was decidedly a college journal and not, as the early "Dickinsonian," published by the students with material secured from others. Most of its

material was from student pens. Its life, however, was brief, 1898-1902. A new journal was launched in 1932—"The Hornbook." May it have a longer life than its predecessor.

"The Dickinson Literary Monthly" may have died because of the change of "The Dickinsonian" from a monthly to a weekly paper. This more frequent issue furnished opportunity for both college news and the literary product of the student body. The "Monthly" disappeared soon after the more frequent issue of "The Dickinsonian" began in 1898, twenty-six years after its first issue.

Even "The Dickinsonian" suffered eclipse, 1879-1883, because of fraternity politics in the choice of editors. It also changed in management in 1923, after fifty years of successful life. The College as a whole became its sponsor, as the literary societies had become small, and failed to represent the entire college life. The form of the paper has varied greatly—it has been newspaper, magazine, and newspaper again, from time to time. Since 1925 it has been a weekly newspaper of four to eight pages. It is supported by the entire college body.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION

The Alumnus. Under the heading above of "General Catalogues" it was stated that Catalogues of Living Alumni were issued by the General Alumni Association in 1925 and 1931. These were two major issues of "The Alumnus." This official organ of the General Alumni Association was first issued in 1923.

As its name implies, "The Alumnus" is the organ of the alumni of the College. It is issued quarterly, and performs a very valuable service.

"The Alumnus" is the child of the fertile brain of Lemuel T. Appold, 1882, and has grown to be a lusty youngster of thirty to forty pages. It does credit to its paternity, and that is high praise.

ATHLETICS

A "BALL ALLEY," whatever that may have been, was constructed on the campus of Dickinson College as early as 1820. This was probably the first attempt at college sport in Pennsylvania. The older college in Philadelphia was a city college, and probably had no room for such foolishness. How or how much this alley was used is not known, but it was torn down shortly before 1830.

The next suggestion of anything athletic in the College is found in faculty action of December, 1853. A game of football on the campus resulted in a quarrel, and a later challenge to fight it out with fists. The fight took place some distance from the College, "up the railroad." Three of the parties involved were dismissed, and, as they never graduated, it seems that they were really expelled. Their subsequent records seem to have been fairly good—one as a lawyer, and two teachers. Thus early football, as also the later brand, gave rise to troubles such as were common forty years ago.

Baseball was first played in the middle sixties, and shortly thereafter it appeared on the Dickinson campus. Other forms of sport came in their time, and it may be said that athletic activities at Dickinson began in much the same way as in other American colleges. For many years they were intramural—"pick-up" games open to all students, and then contests between classes. The earliest known contest with an outside team was in 1873, when Dickinson met a Carlisle town baseball team. The score—Dickinson 63, Carlisle 4—suggests the quality of the teams. This is the earliest recorded contest, but there must have been others before, as "The Dickinsonian," the college journal, "hoped that this game foretells a revival of the baseball interest which has long been permitted to die down."

The first recorded Dickinson interscholastic athletic contest was baseball, with Shippensburg Normal School, May 27, 1876, when Dickinson won, 28-8. There was, about this

time, a widespread general movement favoring physical education, even outside of schools and colleges. Possibly as an outgrowth of this movement, "The Dickinsonian" occasionally presented the matter. Thus, in 1873, it expresses doubt whether "one student in Dickinson takes any systematic exercise. Get out of doors, then, and fill the lungs and blood with pure air, organize your football, baseball, and boating clubs, get up your running and jumping matches, and as a climax have a grand exhibition on one of the empty days of Commencement week." At the same time it refers to the "intense activity and spirit of experiment which has characterized the last decade" in physical exercise in colleges, and stresses the need of a gymnasium. This desire of the students for physical training was first met in an unusual and unexpected way in 1879. A course in military training was given under the supervision of Lieutenant E. T. C. Richmond, U. S. A., of a United States Government Detail, but the Detail was discontinued after two years, and the military training ceased.

Both the students and the college authorities had by this time become athletically conscious. In 1884 the students organized their own Athletic Association, and the College built its first gymnasium, on Louthier Street. Physical training was directed for a time by some member of the Faculty, in addition to his regular departmental work; but in 1887 the Department of Physical Education was organized in charge of a Director. There was yet no athletic field, and none was set aside until 1890, but practice and intramural games were on the campus, and intercollegiate games were played on the fair-ground. In 1885, under such circumstances, the baseball team won three out of five games, two of the victories being over Lehigh, and the June "Dickinsonian" says: "In 1885 baseball supplanted all other sports." It was played, not only in the spring, as now, but in the fall also. The football of thirty years before had disappeared.

Football was mentioned in "The Microcosm" of 1882, which lists a team, but probably the first intercollegiate game

of football at Dickinson was in 1885, when Swarthmore defeated Dickinson, 34-6. The football season of 1886 was marked by three defeats, the teams played being Lafayette, Lehigh, and Swarthmore. In this Swarthmore game occurred Dickinson's first and only football fatality on college ground. E. H. Garrison, on the evening of the game, died of injuries received. In 1887 the same three teams again defeated Dickinson. In 1888 there was a better showing against Penn State and Bucknell, Dickinson playing a tie with State at State College, winning from State at Carlisle, and losing to Bucknell. Intercollegiate football was thus inaugurated at Dickinson, and in 1889 yielded four victories, one tie, and one defeat.

The next decade started badly. However, it finished in a blaze of glory, under the coaching of Dr. Nathan P. Stauffer, the first college football coach. The decade yielded 36 victories, 37 defeats, and 6 tie games. But Stauffer's régime of four years shows 26 victories, 15 defeats, and 3 tie games. Two of his teams, 1897 and 1898, played 21 games with a loss of but 5, a record unsurpassed in Dickinson football. During this period outstanding victories were: State College, 6-0; Lafayette, 12-6; Swarthmore, 20-4; Haverford, 32-0; F. and M., 51-0.

The first decade of the new century has a record of 46 victories, 47 defeats, and 5 tie games. The team of 1904 was probably the best ever developed at Dickinson. Against such teams as Princeton, West Point, Annapolis, W. and J., State, and Lehigh, it had a record of 8 victories, 3 defeats, and 1 tie game, scoring 219 points to its opponents' 53. Its record was a tribute to the training skill of Coach Forrest E. Craver. Some of the victories of this period are: State, 18-0 and 6-0; Lafayette, 35-0; Georgetown, 5-0; Lehigh, 6-0, 10-0, and 8-0; Swarthmore, 28-6; Haverford, 27-0, 34-0, and 44-0; Gettysburg, 49-0; F. and M., 57-0.

Dickinson football suffered a decline from 1910 to 1919. The record of these years is 29 victories, 41 defeats, and 6 tie games. The war-time team of 1918 won all of its five

scheduled games, and has the best record of the period. It was coached by Francis A. ("Mother") Dunn, of the Class of 1914, one of the greatest of Dickinson men of the gridiron. The play and the coaching of Dunn were largely responsible for whatever glory Dickinson won in this decade. The following victories are noted: Gettysburg, 11-0, 20-13, and 39-13; Navy, 0-0; F. and M., 6-3 and 13-7; Swarthmore, 21-7; Delaware, 20-0, 35-7, and 32-0.

The next period, 1920-1931, shows some improvement—43 victories to 55 defeats. However, certain notable victories may be recorded: Allegheny, 7-0 and 28-6; Delaware, 35-7; Ursinus, 20-0 and 48-0; F. and M., 7-0 and 13-7; Swarthmore, 27-7; State, 10-6. The team of 1931, coached by Prof. Joseph H. McCormick, serving his first year as coach, succeeded in showing more victories than defeats, the first team to do so since 1925.

The last period saw the organization of the Eastern Collegiate Athletic Conference. In 1926, Dickinson, Gettysburg, F. and M., Muhlenberg, and Ursinus joined in this Conference to regulate their athletic activities. Two main ends have been served by this Conference—the establishment of a one-year residence rule in all major sports, and a serious attempt to limit the amount of financial aid allowed to athletes.

Baseball was played in the College early, as previously noted, but it was not till the eighties that Dickinson regularly engaged in intercollegiate competition on the diamond. Even then there was no regular schedule. In 1885 Dickinson twice defeated Lehigh, and did the same for Gettysburg in 1886.

The following decade showed improvement—68 victories to 41 defeats was its record. Four teams of this period had exceptional records: 1893 with 7 victories and no defeats; 1894 with 8 victories and 3 defeats; 1895 with 8 victories and 2 defeats; and 1899 with 11 victories and 3 defeats. These early teams had practically no coaching, except the team of 1899, coached by Stauffer, the football coach of the period. This record was against good teams. The team of

1893 defeated, among others, Bucknell, Swarthmore, and the Navy; that of 1894, its old rival, State; that of 1899 won victories over Syracuse, State, Lehigh, and the Carlisle Indians. Two teams only made records worthy of note in the next period, 1900-1909, 1904 with 12 victories to 3 defeats, and 1906 with 10 victories and 4 defeats. These two teams were coached by team members. Only one team, that of 1918, of the next period, 1910-1919, had a record equal to that of the best teams of the previous decades. The same general downward trend appears in later years.

Track as an intramural sport dates from 1885, when the undergraduates held their first field day, and from 1890 to 1899 there were annual midwinter and spring interclass contests. Intercollegiate track contests from 1890, in an Association consisting of Dickinson, Haverford, Lehigh, Lafayette, Swarthmore, and the University of Pennsylvania, left Dickinson never better than fourth. Organized dual meets after 1899 with various college teams made only a little better showing—34 victories to 43 defeats. Since 1896 Dickinson has done well at the University of Pennsylvania Relay Carnival. It finished first in the class race in 1899, defeating Bucknell, Gettysburg, F. and M., and Ursinus, and has taken first place in her class race on five occasions. The most notable victory was in 1917 when she won the mile relay of the M. A. S. C. A. A. In 37 of these relay contests Dickinson has finished first, second, or third 22 times, 3 times in 5—a very satisfactory record.

Since 1911 Dickinson has been a member of the Middle Atlantic States Track Association of about twenty colleges, and holds eighth place in the total point record. From 1913 to 1916 Dickinson, Bucknell, and F. and M. were members of a triangular association. F. and M. and Dickinson each won two of four scheduled meets. Subsequently the trophy for the team first winning three meets was forfeited to Dickinson and is now among its trophies. The point scores of the three teams in the four meets were: Dickinson, 200; F. and M., 185½; Bucknell, 109½.

Dickinson's best record in track has been achieved in the annual championship meet of the Central Pennsylvania Collegiate Track Conference, organized in 1921. It included in its first membership, Bucknell, Drexel, Dickinson, Gettysburg, Juniata, Lebanon Valley, Muhlenberg, and Susquehanna, but was later organized into Class A and Class B groups. Bucknell, Dickinson, Gettysburg, and Muhlenberg formed Class A, and later F. and M. entered the Conference and joined Class A. In the twelve annual meets of the Conference, 1921-1932, Dickinson has captured the championship four times and tied once for the honor. Bucknell and Gettysburg have each three victories to their credit. Muhlenberg has topped the list once, while F. and M., late comer to the Conference, tied with Dickinson for first honors in 1932. Dickinson's leadership in the Conference is shown by the total point score of the twelve meets: Dickinson, 496; Gettysburg, 458; Bucknell, 405; Muhlenberg, 308; F. and M., the late entry, 99.

Basketball began at Dickinson with interclass contests in 1898. It became intercollegiate in 1900 and, except 1903-1908 and 1913-1918, has been continuous. The record, 1900-1921, was poor—29 victories to 60 defeats—but in 1922 a sharp change occurred, and for eleven years the basketball record has excelled all others in the College—109 victories to 69 defeats, but other facts emphasize this. Two teams have been especially worthy of mention, holding the all-time record—1926, with 15 victories and 2 defeats, and 1931 with 14 victories and 2 reverses. But of more significance than the number of victories is the character of the teams defeated: 1923, Dickinson 36, Lafayette 26; Dickinson 25, University of Pennsylvania 23; 1926, Dickinson 24, University of Pennsylvania 20; Dickinson 28, Princeton 16; 1927, Dickinson 38, Princeton 36; 1929, Dickinson 27, Princeton 12; 1931, Dickinson 39, University of Pennsylvania 31.

Basketball coaching at Dickinson during these remarkable seasons has been by Richard H. MacAndrews, now serving

his twenty-first year in connection with the athletics of the Preparatory School or College. He has served in various capacities—Assistant Football Coach, Baseball Coach, and is now Instructor in Physical Education and Basketball Coach.

Tennis was for many years played by the students of the College on many courts on or about the college campus, and from 1900 occasional games were played against teams of other near-by colleges. In 1911, for the first time, a strong tennis team was developed, and a record of six victories to one defeat was achieved. Thereafter schedules were arranged and games played with some regularity. The 1925 team's record was 7 victories and 2 defeats; 1926, 7 victories, 2 defeats and 1 tie; 1932, 8 victories and 2 reverses. In 1932 victories were registered over F. and M., Bucknell, Gettysburg, Delaware, Juniata, and Lebanon Valley, while Haverford and Western Maryland defeated the Dickinson team.

Soccer has come last of all, developing as did other forms of sport before it. For some years an intramural sport only, it secured a full intercollegiate berth in 1932, and the usual sports insignia are now granted to members of soccer teams.

So much for the past, but what are the present-day tendencies? For the past five years there has been wide discussion of the "Sports for All" idea. This idea is not so new in Dickinson as at some institutions, where the aim has been winning teams and intercollegiate glory, symbolized by great stadia. Intramural activity in every sport existed at Dickinson long before intercollegiate competition entered. Possibly because of its location, with no great surrounding population, Dickinson has not been much influenced by tempting "gate money." At any rate, long before many colleges had even thought of "Sports for All," Dickinson students were engaging in comprehensive intramural sports. With the growing popularity of this idea, Dickinson has kept pace. Competition is largely between fraternities and other organized groups, reaching most of the students.

Women of the College have a well-rounded program of physical training, with some elements of the contest, so dear to American youth. All their work is under a trained Director. Although they have had a few intercollegiate games of basketball, their contests have generally been intramural. Their sports include basketball, hockey, swimming, and archery, and are carried on in the Alumni Gymnasium, on Biddle Field and the new Mooreland tract.

The material equipment for the athletic activities of the College was first the campus, then the fair-grounds of the County. In 1884 the first gymnasium of the College was given by a then anonymous friend, now known to be the father of Secretary Woodin of the United States Treasury. Six years later the first athletic field of the College was purchased by the Athletic Association of the college students, replaced in 1910 by the Herman Bosler Biddle Memorial Athletic Field, the gift of Judge and Mrs. Edward W. Biddle, as a memorial to their son. Additions have been made to Biddle Field at various times, both land and equipment, and it is one of the most complete fields to be found anywhere. The old gymnasium of 1884 served till 1929, when the present Alumni Gymnasium was completed at a cost of \$250,000. It is now the almost perfect center of the indoor athletic activity of the College, as is Biddle Field for its open-air sports.

The athletic activity at Dickinson for the closing forty years of the last century, as probably elsewhere, was spasmodic, left much to chance. The development of the last thirty years, however, has been largely in the hands of Forrest E. Craver, Professor of Physical Education in the College. Craver is a mine of information on Dickinson athletics, and has largely furnished the detailed facts of this story. He has played a unique part in the athletics of the College for nearly forty years. He graduated with Phi Beta Kappa honors in 1899, and during his college course was probably the best football end the College ever had. From 1900 to 1905 as Instructor, and since 1909 as Professor of

Physical Education, Craver has supervised the athletics of the College. Reference has already been made to the team he coached in 1904, but he usually had great teams, considering his material. For many years other duties have lessened his coaching activities, and he now gives most of his attention to track and to the development in the College of the "Sports for All" program. "Cap" Craver's name stands out in college athletics as that of no other man, and the weight of his influence has always been on the side of clean sport.

STUDENT EXPENSES

PRIOR to 1810 there was no college dormitory life, and the only college charge to students was that for tuition. This was so small at the time as to seem almost ridiculous, in view of present-day conditions. It must not be forgotten, however, that money was scarce and hard to get, and that prices of commodities were correspondingly low.

The first known announcement of college charges appears in *Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette* of December 20, 1785, and is part of a communication of the trustees, of the 19th, the previous day. "Trustees of the College . . . ordered a brief account of the State of the College to be drawn up for publication. . . .

"The tuition money is only five pounds per annum, to be paid half-yearly, and twenty-five shillings entrance" on matriculation.

As the pound was the Pennsylvania pound, worth \$2.66, the two charges would be about \$16.67 per year.

This tuition fee was increased from time to time, and Rush wrote Montgomery later that it might be increased to \$30, for the higher education should be made a luxury, available only to those in easy circumstances.

How soon Rush's "luxury" standard was reached is not known, but it had been passed by 1827. A circular of 1827 gives items of the college charges for students occupying the college dormitory. These items are tuition and room-rent, and another unusual one—fuel and the rent of a stove. Tuition was \$39, entrance \$5, room-rent \$12, and stove-rent and fuel was \$14. Board could be had for \$1.87½ per week, and the year's expense need not exceed \$169.25. This estimate probably allows little or nothing for books. Books were expensive, and the earliest teaching of the College was largely by lectures which the pupil was to take down in full, and thus make his own books for most subjects.

Every dormitory room but one in the old college building

had its fireplace, and students doubtless had the open fire for a time. On the coming of stoves, the College purchased stoves and rented them to students, also selling them the needed wood. The house for storing this wood was north of the college building, and as previously detailed, later became North College, used for a time as a dormitory.

Stoves furnished heat for students for over sixty years. Most of the time they were not rented but owned by the students. The marvel is that the building was not burned to the ground through the careless handling of stoves for so long a period. They disappeared when steam heat was introduced into the buildings in 1889.

The cost to students for heat and room-rent remained fairly constant until the stoves disappeared, but about 1890 increased charges became common, openly for room-rent, and with heat-cost as part of the general charges which covered heat, tuition, and a number of other items.

Room-rent, fairly constant at about \$10 per year until 1890, then began to grow: \$12 to \$30 in 1890; \$12 to \$35 in 1909; \$16 to \$35 in 1918; \$25 to \$50 in 1920; \$40 to \$75 in 1927; and \$50 to \$60 in 1929. All these charges were for unfurnished rooms, but in 1929 one dormitory, largely occupied by Freshmen, was furnished, and rent of furnished rooms was made \$65 to \$125, at which figures it remains in 1933.

The tuition figure of 1827 seems to have been the highest for the first century of the college life. It was generally about \$30, rising to \$40 in 1864-1865, though it was a nominal charge only, as tuition was mostly paid by scholarships, which had been sold for \$6.25 per year's tuition. Tuition was increased a little from time to time by additional charges for new subjects added to the course—\$3 for Modern Languages in 1850, \$25 for laboratory charges in 1867, and \$15 for Special Biblical course, later reduced to \$5.

It had been planned by the sale of many cheap scholarships, 1852-1854, to render the College independent of tuition fees, but not enough scholarships were sold; and for

forty years the finances of the College were disorganized by the lack of tuition fees, and by dependence upon scholarships.

To meet in part the resulting financial emergency, to get something out of the wreck, the tuition fee was made \$6.25 a year, the same rate as that upon which scholarships were to be secured. Later, but after most of the scholarships had been used, lost, or surrendered to the College, a general charge was made for various items—an omnibus charge, first of \$50 in 1890, then \$73 in 1898, and successively \$100 in 1905, \$125 in 1912, \$160 in 1920, \$200 in 1924, \$250 in 1926, \$300 in 1928, and \$325 in 1929.

The price of board has, of course, very largely increased. President How advertised its cost in 1830 as from \$1 to \$2, with good board at \$1.50; and for fifty years the estimate of 1827 alone put the usual cost at more than \$1.50. After 1840, however, the price began to climb, to \$2.50 in 1863, and from \$3.50 to \$4 in 1867. These were Civil War increases in depreciated money, but there was no return to the previous figure on the resumption of the gold standard in 1879. On the contrary, there has been a gradual increase, so that the old figures of \$1 to \$2 now become \$5 to \$6.

Early college announcements usually gave an estimate of the necessary cost to a student for the college year. This was put as low as \$100 at one time, but one must suspect its accuracy, even honesty. Generally the minimum was from \$125 to \$175, till the Civil War, when it became \$250. At present, at the very least, it would be \$600.

While the expense of a student today is several times that of a century ago, the facilities and comforts of life demanded and provided today are equally greater. The stage coach of a century ago is to the automobile of today much as the earliest cost is to that of today. For better or worse, the whole framework of our life has changed.

Although costs have thus tremendously increased, it is certain that a much larger body of our youth may now secure college advantages than under the old and cheaper system. As never dreamed in the earlier day, the College

extends help to the needy and worthy student in generous fashion. Many times the whole budget of the old College is now granted students as scholarships and loans, amounting to as much as \$35,000 in a single year. President Filler especially developed a system of student loan-scholarships, whereby the student receives present concessions on the promise to return a part of it after graduation. The grant is thus expected to become a growing revolving fund for student help.

MISCELLANEOUS ORGANIZATIONS

IN ADDITION to the outstanding organizations of the College, which have had a long life, there are others of various kinds. They are difficult of classification, but some of them have had a deep and wholesome influence on college life.

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION. It is probable that for the first century of the college life there was little attempt to organize the religious life within the College. The Church was accepted as best fitted to meet student needs. It is true, however, that as early as 1857 there was organized The Society of Religious Inquiry, about the same time The Mission Society, and not much later Dickinson Praying Band.

The Society of Religious Inquiry alone of these three had even a name to live for any length of time, and it seems to have been merely the stalking horse for one of the Sabbath sermons of commencement occasions. None of the old alumni who were in College during the period of its supposed life can recall that it had any real place in the College. "The Minutal" of 1881 omits all these organizations.

The Young Men's Christian Association first appears in college publications in 1879, and has continued as a student organization more than fifty years. It has now been joined by the like Young Women's Christian Association, and the two are generally called the Christian Association.

The Association has done much good, but has also done much to separate student life from organized church life. It has had its own regular services, largely to the exclusion of like services of the churches. It is to be feared that the result has been to unfit, in some degree, the student for sympathetic association with church life on his return from College to the general life of the society in which he is to live.

ALUMNI ASSOCIATIONS. There is no evidence that the early College paid any attention to its alumni. Probably

the first approach of any kind to them was by the literary societies. As early as 1791 the Belles Lettres Society appealed to its alumni for help in forming a library. In 1844 the Union Philosophical Society organized its alumni as part of its General Society, and in 1856 the Belles Lettres Society did the same.

The first recognition of the alumni as a whole seems to have been an action of 1833 by the new Board on the transfer of the College to Methodist trustees. All old alumni were then circularized, and urged to continue their interest in their old College. There is no evidence that there was any worth while response, and none, perhaps, could be expected under the circumstances. The old alumni might have accepted a new college administration without any church affiliations, as Dickinson College had thus far claimed to be; but the alumni were largely Presbyterian, and avowedly denominational auspices other than that of their own church could hardly be acceptable to them at that time of such intense denominational controversy. The Arminianism of the new control would be especially repugnant to them.

The Law School graduates of 1836 and the college graduates of 1837, then, were the first of the institution's alumni available for alumni organization. The two literary societies approached their members early, much as do the fraternities of today, for counsel and help. The College was slow to follow this good example, and no worth while alumni organization existed prior to 1880. Even the organization of that time was only a formal one of such alumni as might be present at the annual commencement and form a skeleton organization for the year. The rattling of its dry bones was clearly audible. It was quite useless to the College, save as it furnished copy for the none-too-generous college publications.

This moribund condition of the alumni organization continued until the presidency fell to the lot of Lemuel T. Appold, Class of 1882. It had not been his habit of life to associate with the dead, but with the living. He first conferred

with the college administration, and with its full approval launched, in 1923, "The Alumnus," to be the organ of the alumni. Later in 1923 he and some counselors around the dinner table planned a real organization—the General Alumni Association. It had life from the first, and has done the College valuable service.

The announced purpose of this new Association was "to keep alive and stimulate interest of the alumni in their Alma Mater, and to secure their intelligent support of measures beneficial to the College."

The Association adopted "The Alumnus" and now issues it under the editorship of Gilbert Malcolm, 1915, Treasurer of the College.

One of the Association's early services was to secure Saturday of commencement week as Alumni Day. This Saturday has become the annual rallying time of the alumni in such numbers as was never before thought possible.

The four alumni trustees were formerly elected by the vote of all alumni, and no one took any interest in elections. Men at times were elected almost by default. Under plans proposed by the new Association, all this is changed. Electors are the members of the Association, those who have shown enough interest to hold their Association membership by a small annual payment for "The Alumnus." There is now a real Association, vibrant with life. It is an effective, stimulating force in college life.

MUSICAL LIFE. "In Old Bellaire," published in 1906, with a reprint in 1919, is a story of college life in 1860, written by Mary Johnson Dillon, daughter of President Johnson. The story gives prominent place to the church choir which generally practiced in the parlors of the President. "The Microcosm" of 1867 lists the College Choir. It probably sang in the chapel services, then held morning and evening of each day. Both a Chapel Choir and an 1873 Glee Club appear in "The Microcosm" of 1873.

Both these organizations had disappeared by 1874, and they were probably very temporary, more for publication

than anything else. In fact, prior to 1890, there was nothing approaching the well-organized glee club of later years. From that time, however, there has been a glee club in the College almost without intermission.

This absence of organized vocal music in the College must not be interpreted as meaning that the boys did not sing. It is probable that the average student sang more in those days of the small college than in the later time when the best voices are preëmpted for formal organizations. There was really a great deal of college singing. In fact, everybody sang, or tried to do so. The growth of the College and its breaking up into smaller groups, especially fraternities, has lessened community singing.

"The Microcosm" of 1867 and of 1873 listed no instrumental musical organization, but that of 1882 listed both an orchestra and a cornet band. Both of these were supplemented from the town, and were probably inspired by E. H. Linville, of the Class of 1881. He was an unusual cornetist, and was the inspiration of these organizations. They both disappeared shortly after he graduated, and nothing to take their places appeared for over thirty years.

From time to time skeleton bands and orchestras appeared and disappeared. The real development of these organizations, however, awaited the coming of Ralph Schecter to the Faculty in 1922. He is a real musician, and with the encouragement of the college administration has developed both a band and an orchestra of which the College may be proud. The real value of his work appears in the improved musical taste of the entire College.

DEPARTMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

THE SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY was organized in 1867, under the general direction of Professor Himes, two years after he came to Dickinson.

The work in science has divided and subdivided since the

organization of the Society, but the Society itself has continued as a unit. By this fortunate unity, students of every science have some association with those of other fields as well.

The Society has probably lapsed at times, but has had a fairly continuous life. It meets with some degree of regularity and has presented matters of general scientific interest, such as might not come to the work of any classroom or laboratory. At this writing (on the bicentenary of the birth of Priestley) the Society is having an evening over the Priestley apparatus in the possession of the College.

It is now known as the Mohler Scientific Society, named for the late Professor Mohler.

A GERMAN CLUB was organized in 1899, when Professor Prettyman came to the College, and with slight lapses has continued to function. Its underlying purpose has been to give closer study to some German questions for which there was no time in the ordinary classroom, and for which the majority of students were not prepared.

German plays and music have been brought to the College and to the people of Carlisle. The net proceeds from such events are used to send picked students to Germany for a year.

Since 1928 the Club has been more vigorously conducted, and for the past two years it has been able to send one student annually to Germany for a year's study. A third one is expected to go at the end of the college year 1932-1933.

The Club has encouraged student exchange between Germany and America. As a result, five young Germans have spent a year each at Dickinson, and a number of Dickinsonians on graduation have gone to Germany for a like period.

THE GREEK CLUB was organized in 1919. Its membership includes the students of the Greek Department and some few others interested in Greek subjects.

The Club meets biweekly, and its programs are varied. "*Nil Graecum mihi alienum*" might be its motto. There are

reports on Greek art, literature, and music; informal gatherings after the Ancient Greek manner, court-trials, weddings; presentation of Greek dramas—whatever will throw light on ancient or modern Greek life is acceptable for the programs. The most ambitious effort of the Club was the presentation of the "Antigone" at the 1922 commencement. The following year the Club had an exposition of hundreds of charts illustrating Greek civilization. Professor Wing is the inspiration of the Club.

DEBATING has been a prominent feature of the literary societies during their long history. Public debates between the two societies were inaugurated fifty years ago, and these finally gave place to intercollegiate debates.

The intercollegiate debating soon developed into debating leagues of several colleges, and debates between the various members continued for many years.

The World War played havoc with these college leagues, and afterward the debating organization was a very different affair.

Fifteen to twenty students of the College specially interested in debating now form the "Debate Squad." They meet every week with a Debate Council of faculty members to discuss their debate problems on the various subjects being considered in colleges. Many teams engage in numerous debates each year.

DRAMATICS. For very many years occasional plays were given before the college body by students having stage ability. On the coming of a Teacher of Oratory thirty years ago, such plays were given more frequently, but with no regularity.

In 1920 that which had been occasional and sporadic became regular. Since that date there have been given at least one or two plays annually, and generally more. Students so inclined thus have outlet for their histrionic talent. Through these later years the work has been directed by Prof. Wilbur H. Norcross of the Department of Psychology.

BOAT CLUBS. Few yet remember that there have been

two college Boat Clubs: one was organized in 1870 by the Phi Kappa Psi fraternity; the other by the Beta Theta Pi fraternity in 1881.

The boats of these Clubs were shells, six-oared, with a coxswain. In addition to their ordinary uses they were great social assets to their owners. Boating parties on the creek, with the crew of seven and seven invited ladies from the town were common. The boys furnished transportation, the ladies supplied the larder, and all had great times.

Vandalism of toughs wandering along the creek made the upkeep of boats almost impossible, and the Clubs had only a short life—the first one of six years, the second of only two.

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